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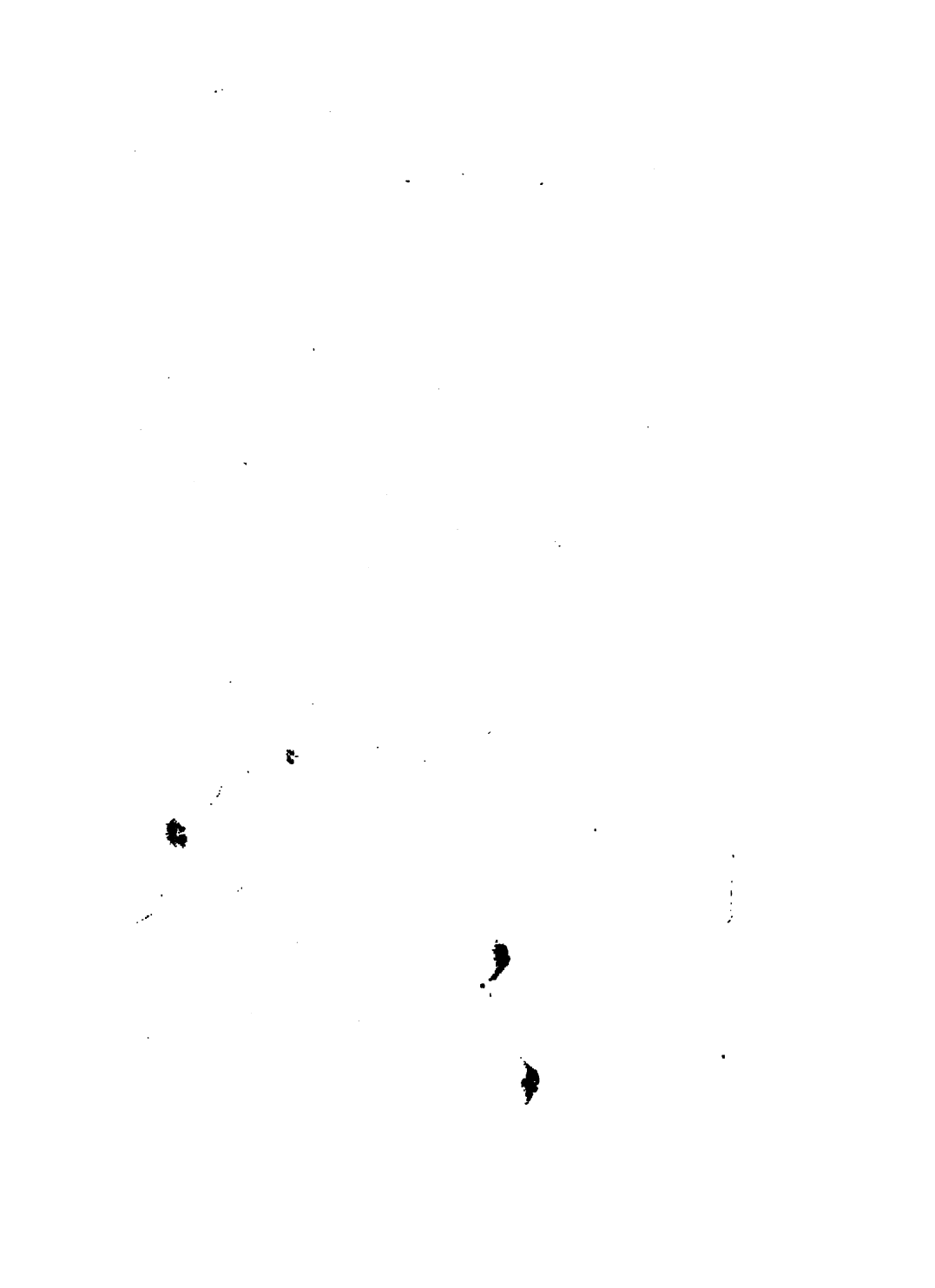
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THE  
STORY OF MY MISSION  
AMONG  
THE BRITISH SETTLERS  
IN  
SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA  
WILLIAM SHAW



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Mr. U. S. S. S.

With the Best Wishes  
of his Wishes.

Feb 26/73

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| 7.  | QUEEN'S TOWN |
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## **STERN AFRICA**

Eastern Province of the  
 H KAFFRARIA, KAFFRARIA PROPER,  
 THE LISUTU DISTRICT OF THE  
 THE ORANGE FREE STATE, AND  
 RIVER REPUBLIC.  
 Wesleyan Mission Stations in that portion  
 OF STERN AFRICA

31 32 33

18 Clifton Street, Cape Town

THE  
STORY OF MY MISSION  
AMONG THE  
BRITISH SETTLERS IN SOUTH  
EASTERN AFRICA.

BY WILLIAM SHAW,  
LATE WESLEYAN GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT IN THAT COUNTRY.

NEW EDITION.  
WITH A MAP AND TWO ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON :  
THE WESLEYAN MISSION HOUSE,  
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1872.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE INTRODUCTION.

PROPOSED British Settlement—Parliamentary Grant—Flattering Prospects—Settlers placed on a disturbed Border—Entitled to Protection—Number of Emigrants in 1820—Scheme of Settlement—Chaplains or Ministers—My Connexion with a Party of one hundred Families—Appointment by Wesleyan Missionary Committee—Hurried away to London—Painful Parting—Ordination Service—Unexpected Detention—Sermon by Rev. Joseph Benson—Counsels of Rev. Jabez Bunting and other eminent Ministers—Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P.—Lieutenant Vicars—Settlers embarked—Visits of Ministers on Board—Rev. Mr. Ivimey—Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe's Sermon—My Embarcation—Accommodations in an Emigrant Ship—Rev. Richard Watson on the probable Results of my Mission and the proposed Settlement—The late Rev. Barnabas Shaw—Heave Anchor and set Sail.

DURING the Session of the Imperial Parliament in the year 1819, a proposal was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, afterwards Lord Bexley, to establish an English Settlement on a large tract of country, which formed the Eastern boundary of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The object of the Government in requesting the Legislature to vote

£50,000, in aid of this project, appears to have been twofold. There was much distress, and consequent discontent, prevailing at the time, in the manufacturing and commercial communities of the country; and it was hoped that to draft off a considerable body of the people would afford some relief, in various neighbourhoods; while, on the other hand, the establishment of a British Settlement, on the immediate border of the Kaffir country, would provide some means of defence and security to the other portions of the Cape Colony, which had for many years been partially occupied by a sparse population. There had been several destructive incursions made by the Kaffir tribes, on the border Dutch Colonists, who were unable to retain possession of the Eastern Districts beyond Algoa Bay, until the British Government had employed a military force to clear the country of the intruding tribes, and establish its authority as far as the Fish River, which had been the recognised boundary of the Colony since the year 1782.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, only spoke in Parliament of the very fine prospects which were before such fortunate individuals as might be included in the number of those who were to be aided by Government in removing to this new land of promise. Such glowing pictures were drawn in several publications which followed the Government proposal, of the fertility of the country, and the healthy character of its climate, that it is not surprising that applications were speedily made at the Colonial Office by individuals and parties representing an aggregate population of more than ninety thousand souls. The case might have been otherwise, had they been told that they were to form a sort of barrier to the rest of the Cape Colony, and thus

to take all risk and hazard arising from the occasional fierce incursions of the Kaffir tribes. But little or nothing was suffered to transpire on this point; and it was not till after the settlers had been some time in Africa that they clearly comprehended that, as the inhabitants of a disturbed border, they were expected to maintain their position, and thereby shield the rest of the Colony. When they subsequently made this discovery, it was impossible for them to retire from the country, if they had desired to do so; but they naturally and justly claimed from the Home Government such assistance, in the way of military protection, as circumstances have shown to be requisite, to enable them to retain possession of their hard-earned property.

This book is not intended to give more than an outline of the history of the now prosperous English Settlement; but as the Wesleyan Mission in South-Eastern Africa took its rise in connexion therewith, I have deemed it desirable to mention, at the beginning, that the original British settlers of the Eastern Province of the Cape were no intruders upon the territory of the Kaffirs, nor were they prompted by their own cupidity to place themselves on the border; but the lands and their several locations were selected for them and assigned to them by the Government, in the pursuit of its own measures. Consequently, as they have ever been loyal and peaceable, they claim as British subjects the continued protection of the Queen's Government, as far as circumstances may render requisite. And it is but fair to say that, however faulty the border policy of the Cape Colony may have been at various periods, since the establishment of this Settlement, yet the Home Government has not failed to recognise the justice of



the claim made by the British settlers to protection ; for it has always maintained a military force, however (at times) inadequate for that purpose.

From the large list of applicants, the authorities of the Colonial Office made a selection, and ultimately a population of about four thousand were conveyed, in twenty-six vessels, to Algoa Bay. The general arrangement adopted by the Government was to send the settlers in parties of ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred families, each party being under a head, or representative, who transacted its business with the Government both in England and the Colony ; and the people comprising these several parties were located in distinct settlements.

It will ever stand recorded, to the honour of the British Government of 1819, that in framing the regulations for emigration to Southern Africa, a suitable provision was made for the establishment and perpetuation of Christian institutions among the settlers. The plan of the Government showed a just concern for the religious interests of the people, and a liberal consideration for the diversity of their religious opinions. Hence it was provided, that in cases when there were one hundred families who combined to form one settlement, they should be at liberty to choose a Minister of whatever denomination they might prefer ; and if the person selected was approved by the Government, an annual payment from the Colonial Treasury should be made towards his support. A number of Wesleyan families, chiefly resident in London, resolved to avail themselves of this opportunity to emigrate to Southern Africa. They were joined by some Episcopalians, Baptists, and others, and thus made up rather more than the required

number of one hundred men, exclusive of their wives and families. The majority being either members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, or adherents of that religious community, it was resolved to take with them a Wesleyan Minister, and avail themselves of the offered aid of the Government towards his support. They therefore advertised for a Minister to accompany them. As I had previously offered myself to the Wesleyan Missionary Society for foreign service, and had passed the usual ordeals required by the Wesleyan body before any one can be admitted into its Ministry, I entered into correspondence with the manager of the affairs of this emigrant party, and ultimately offered to accompany them, provided they would consent to receive me in the capacity of a Wesleyan Missionary, appointed by, and in connexion with, the Missionary Committee and Methodist Conference in England. They were well pleased to consent to this arrangement, and the Missionary Committee, after a personal examination in their usual manner, resolved to send me forth as one of their duly accredited Missionaries, but in the special capacity of Chaplain, or Minister, to this party of British settlers about to sail to Southern Africa.

This resolution was not adopted until after an animated discussion; some influential Ministers regarding the proposal as scarcely within the range of their duty as a Missionary Committee. It was thought by some, that to send a young and inexperienced Missionary with a body of British settlers going to a new and untried country, would entail no small amount of trouble and disappointment; while it was feared that the arrangement with the Government might lead to some entanglements which would prove embarrassing in conducting

the Mission. Several families of the Methodist emigrants, however, were members of the congregation of the Great Queen Street Chapel, where the late Rev. George Morley was at that time the Superintendent Minister. This eminently sagacious Minister felt greatly interested for their spiritual welfare, and regarded the appointment of a Wesleyan Missionary to South-Eastern Africa as promising important results in the extension of Christianity on that portion of the Continent. He therefore strongly advocated the proposed arrangement; and his views being supported by other members, the Committee at length resolved to appoint me to go on this new enterprise.

Having returned from London after my examination and appointment, I began to prepare for the departure of myself and family. But a letter from the late Rev. Joseph Taylor, Resident Secretary at the Mission House, Hatton Garden, hurried us away. He stated that it was requisite we should immediately go to London, as the vessel in which we were to sail would be ready in a few days. On Sunday, November 21st, 1819, I preached a parting sermon, to a crowded congregation, in the old Methodist Chapel, at Long Sutton, Lincolnshire; and our numerous friends gave us many tokens of their kind regards and good wishes. It would not interest the general reader to detail particulars of our most affecting parting with our near relatives and friends. Many tears were shed, and many kind words of sincere love and gratitude were interchanged. Our greatest trouble, however, was, that the only condition on which the aged Mrs. Maw would consent to part with her daughter was, that we should leave our first-born child, then an infant, with her and his aunt; so that if we "perished



in the sea, or in the deserts of Africa," they might at least have this relic of a lost family remaining, to whom they might show kindness and love for our sake. We were induced from various considerations, but mainly from deep sympathy for our aged mother's feelings, to comply with her request, although this formed the most painful portion of all our parting experience.

We finally took leave of my aged father, and other friends, at Wisbeach, on the evening of November 24th; and, after travelling all night in the stage-coach, arrived safely in London next morning, when we proceeded at once to the house of the Rev. George Morley, from whom and his kind-hearted and excellent wife we received the most affectionate and considerate attentions during our residence in London.

I had only arrived in time for my Ordination, which had been fixed to be held that very evening, November 25th, 1819, in St. George's Chapel in the East, together with that of the Rev. Titus Close, a Missionary, just about to proceed to Madras. This Ordination Service had an unusual interest attached to it, as a considerable number of the intended settlers, with their friends, from various parts of London, attended to witness my dedication to the office of the Ministry for their future benefit. The Ministers engaged in the service were, the Rev. Messrs. Charles Atmore, Samuel Taylor, George Morley, Joseph Taylor, and Richard Watson. The Rev. G. Morley addressed the people, specially referring to those about to emigrate; and the Rev. R. Watson delivered the charge to the two young Ministers. It was a solemn service. I had never witnessed a Wesleyan Ordination, and scarcely knew what was expected from me on the occasion. When called upon, however, I spake in the sim-

plicity of my heart, reciting an outline of the circumstances connected with my early conversion to God, and the reasons which induced me to believe that I was moved by the Holy Ghost "to take upon me the office, duties, and responsibilities of a Christian Missionary."

The Government functionaries who had the management of the embarkation of the settlers, made an unexpected alteration in the arrangements, and the party to which I was attached was not to sail in the vessel originally designed. This occasioned some delay, and meantime a severe frost set in, by which the Thames was frozen over, and we were consequently detained in London till February, 1820. Although this was very trying to many of the people, and a serious injury to all those whose finances were limited; yet to me it afforded considerable advantage, inasmuch as it gave me an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with some of the leading Methodist Ministers at that time in London, and of hearing sermons preached by the Rev. Joseph Benson, Dr. Adam Clarke, the Rev. Jabez Bunting, the Rev. R. Watson, and others. At that period, alas! there was no Theological Institution, in which Candidates for our Ministry and Missionary work could secure a preparatory training; and, consequently, I did not enjoy the inestimable benefit which, by the wiser arrangement of subsequent date, has been conferred on the gifted rising race of our Ministers. It was, however, some compensation for this disadvantage, that for a season I had opportunities of studying some of the best pulpit models among the Wesleyan body of that period, and of receiving many private advices, as to my reading and general deportment, from men who were not only competent to afford

me this assistance, but generously took the trouble to do so.

The last time I was privileged to hear the Rev. Joseph Benson preach, was on a Sunday in the month of January, 1820. He had taken an appointment for the forenoon and evening of that day at the Lambeth Chapel: being, however, in very advanced age and rapidly declining health, he had requested the Rev. Joseph Taylor, the Resident Secretary at the Mission House, to send one of the young Preachers connected with the Mission Department to assist him, should he find it requisite to avail himself of such help. I was fixed upon for this duty, and under Mr. Taylor's directions proceeded to the Lambeth Chapel, where I arrived some time before the service was to begin, in order to be at Mr. Benson's disposal. After this venerable man of God entered the vestry, he said to me, "Are you the young man sent from the Mission House to help me?" "Yes, Sir; but I trust you feel yourself able to preach. I would much rather sit and hear you, than stand before the congregation of this Chapel to preach for you." He smiled, and said, "Well, I mean to preach this morning; and before I leave the pulpit I shall decide whether it will be necessary for you to preach for me in the evening or not." Very much relieved in my mind as to the forenoon service, I entered the Chapel, and, after the usual devotional services, Mr. Benson announced for his text Romans xv. 4. After a clear exposition of the passage, such as might have been expected from this able Commentator on the Holy Scriptures, he gradually warmed with his theme, and dwelt on the authority, fulness, and sufficiency of the Word of God, together with its



hope-inspiring and soul-comforting truths, in such a manner as to rivet the attention of a large congregation for nearly an hour. I can never forget the earnestness and energy of his manner: his words flowed fluently, and yet it seemed to me that he felt language to be inadequate to utter all his great conceptions, and to express all his intense anxiety that every hearer might receive the benefit. In fact, this noble pulpit effort quite exhausted his feeble frame, and he announced that he would not be able to preach in the evening; but with a view of lessening in some degree the disappointment to the congregation, and at the same time most kindly striving to secure for me an attendance at the evening service, he informed them that "Mr. Shaw, who was going out as Missionary to the English settlers about to embark for South Africa, would occupy the pulpit in his place." In his concluding prayer he offered most fervent supplications for me and the settlers, that God would have us in His holy keeping, and bless us, and make us a blessing. The responses of some in the congregation, with other unmistakeable symptoms, showed that the sympathies of the people were drawn forth by the petitions of the Minister. To me it was a season of deep solemnity. I called it to remembrance to my great comfort on many occasions afterwards, especially in times of unusual difficulty. I ever regarded it as a great privilege to have had the blended prayers of such a man and such a congregation specially offered to God on my behalf, and on behalf of the great work to which I had been already "set apart by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." Surely the "effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

To the eminently wise and godly counsels of the Rev. George Morley and Rev. J. Bunting, (afterwards the venerable Dr. Bunting,) I am especially indebted. The remembrance of their advices in subsequent years often enabled me to steer a steady course, when I should otherwise, in all probability, have missed my way without a pilot, in an unknown ocean, abounding with dangers seen and unseen. No doubt, on the review, my first grateful homage and gratitude are due to Him "whose I am, and whom I serve," and "from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and just works, do proceed;" yet I cannot overlook, in this recital, my deep obligations to those who were the instruments in His hand of rendering me (and may I not say the Mission through me?) such invaluable service.

Among the pleasing reminiscences of my sojourn in London is my introduction to the late Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P. He was at that time one of the General Treasurers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society; and, being in the habit of attending the Great Queen Street Chapel, he knew several of the settlers who were going out with me, and was much interested in their welfare. Besides showing me much personal kindness, he also gave me some most valuable advices, which I found of great service when in subsequent years I was obliged by circumstances to enter into frequent correspondence with Government officials. At a Missionary Meeting held in Great Queen Street Chapel on the 27th of January, 1820, Mr. Butterworth occupied the chair, and on that occasion he introduced me to Lieutenant Vicars, father of the late Captain Hedley Vicars, whose most interesting and edifying Memoir has recently been so extensively read. This gentleman was at that time



on a visit to Mr. Butterworth, in London. He had been aroused to earnestness and decision in religion under the ministry of one of our Missionaries in Newfoundland; and I well remember the effect produced by his simple but truly Christian address in favour of Methodist Missions.

Most of the settlers with whom I was connected embarked early in January, at Deptford, on board the ships "Aurora" and "Brilliant," which were to convey the party to Algoa Bay: and I made frequent visits to preach to them on board. It was gratifying to see the kind pastoral feeling which was displayed towards them by some of the London Ministers. The Rev. George Morley, Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, and other Wesleyan Ministers visited them and preached to them, offering them both advice and consolation suited to their circumstances; and as several of the Baptist families belonged to the Eagle Street Chapel, the late Rev. W. Iviney, the well-known Minister of that place of worship, also took an affectionate leave of them, preaching a most appropriate discourse on the occasion. The text selected by the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, when he preached on the deck of the "Aurora," with a numerous company of the settlers before him, was, "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing." (Gen. xii. 1, 2.) The short discourse, delivered in his inimitably quiet and placid manner, by this saintly Minister, produced a deep impression. Much of this was no doubt due to the strikingly appropriate text, and the easy style in which it was made to furnish lessons suited to the circumstances of the people; but he was a

Minister greatly beloved, and there was ever much unction in his discourses. Even then he was venerable in appearance, although he did not enter into the heavenly rest till thirty-seven years afterwards, having died on the 14th of May, 1856, at the patriarchal age of ninety-four years.

Early in February, I and my wife embarked with our infant child, and took possession of the small berth that was allotted to us. In those days the best modes of fitting up emigrant ships had not been devised; and although much attention had been given by the Government officials at Deptford to make all things as convenient as possible, yet we were, perhaps unavoidably, much crowded. The Missionary Committee would have made a private arrangement with the master of the vessel, to provide for us on the passage; but we declined this, on the principle that, as we were going with the settlers, we would prefer, during the voyage, to fare just as they would have to do. Although this resolution cost us some severe privations while on the voyage,—seeing that settlers in emigrant ships were not at that period so well provided for as in these days,—yet we never regretted that we had adopted it, as it showed the people that we meant to identify ourselves with them; and by this means also the whole passage-money, which the Society would otherwise have had to pay, was saved. Having embarked, and endeavoured to make our berth as comfortable as possible, we then awaited the day when the anchor was to be heaved, and we should proceed to our far distant destination.

The views entertained by thoughtful persons, at this period, of the Mission on which I was going, will be best illustrated by the following remarks, written by the late

Rev. Richard Watson, about the middle of the month of January, and published in the "Missionary Notices" for February, 1820 :—

"Mr. and Mrs. W. Shaw are only waiting the breaking up of the ice in the river, to proceed with the colonists who are to settle not far from Algoa Bay. The whole number of settlers from different parts, now on their voyage, or about to proceed to this settlement, is probably more than three thousand. The introduction of so great a number of professed Christians, comprising many who we trust are really so, and who will have the ordinances of religion immediately established among them, into a heathen land, we cannot but consider as one of those circumstances which Providence in the present day is so obviously over-ruling, for the purpose of extending the kingdom of Christ in the world. The Colony will be immediately in the neighbourhood of the Caffres, whose wild habits, if these colonists conduct themselves with justice and kindness in their intercourse with them, will be rapidly ameliorated. The spectacle of civilized life, and the benefits arising from industry and cultivation, at the very door of these tribes, will give encouragement to those of their Chiefs who have been best disposed to change the habits of their people, to renew the attempt; and the zeal of many of the colonists, we doubt not, will induce them to embrace every opportunity to communicate to such of the natives as come within their reach, the knowledge of the Gospel. It is a very hopeful circumstance, connected with the probable extension which may be given to Christianity by the establishment of these Colonies, that many of the persons going out are not only of a religious character, but in this country have been members of Missionary



Societies, and accustomed to hear stated from the pulpit, and in public meetings, the obligations of Christians to promote the conversion of the Heathen. With these views and impressions many of them will go out; and the Colonies, as they rise, will furnish both means and instruments for taking their proper share in this great work. Colonies in former times have too frequently commenced with a contempt for the savage tribes in whose neighbourhood they have been settled, which has led not merely to the neglect of their instruction, but to acts of injury and violence. We trust that sentiments of love and pity for the Heathen are felt by many of the colonists now going to South Africa; that they will be taught to their children, and that from their settlements the light and influence of Christianity may spread to many of the tribes who lie upon their borders. Mr. W. Shaw has special instructions to avail himself of every opportunity which may offer for this purpose; and should favourable circumstances occur, the Mission in that part of South Africa will be reinforced. From the Namaqua country our accounts are very interesting. Mr. Shaw and Mr. Edwards are at Lilly Fountain; Mr. and Mrs. Archbell are gone to Reed Fontaine, a new settlement, about two days' journey distant from the former, where they have collected about one hundred natives; among whom, with the religion of Christ, the useful arts will be introduced. Mr. Shaw, now providentially restored from his indisposition, intended shortly to proceed beyond the Orange River, for the purpose of forming a third settlement, having been encouraged by a correspondence with Mr. Schmelen on the subject, and by conversation with Hottentots from that quarter. Mr. Shaw is also now hopeful as to the

probability of obtaining access for a Missionary to the Negro slaves of the Colony. The Committee, under all these circumstances, have resolved to appoint an additional Missionary for South Africa, who is to proceed to Namaqualand, that by his additional assistance Mr. Shaw may be able to proceed to the Orange River; or endeavour to effect an opening to the colonial slaves, and in any other way endeavour to extend the kingdom of God in this too long neglected part of the globe. Surely the time of the efficient visitation of the dark and degraded continent of Africa is come. The work commenced on the south and west will, if persevered in, and supported by the prayers and the liberalities of the Christian world, gradually spread northward and eastward, until 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God.'"

The observations contained in the above extract respecting the probable results, in a Missionary point of view, of the establishment of the proposed Colony on the border of Kaffraria, will be found to have been almost of a prophetic character. If the reader will accompany me through the pages of this book, I hope he will be satisfied that the pious settlers referred to really acted in the manner anticipated, and that the effect of this emigration has been a great extension of "the light and influence of Christianity" among the numerous heathen tribes of South Eastern Africa.

I have purposely included in the above extract from the "Missionary Notices," the portion which relates to the Mission in Namaqualand, because it affords me the opportunity of referring to the labours of the late Rev. Barnabas Shaw, a man whose praise is in all our Churches. He was the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in

Southern Africa, so far as the Cape of Good Hope and Namaqualand Districts are concerned. Of these Missions, in the year 1839, he published an interesting account in a volume entitled, "Memorials of Southern Africa." This will partly explain why I do not think it requisite or desirable to occupy space by a recital of the history of that branch of our extensive work in Southern Africa. That Mission continues justly to enjoy a fair share of the sympathies and support of the friends of the Society. My late beloved and honoured friend never visited the regions in which my providential lot was cast. Our spheres of labour were wide apart. It may serve to give some idea of the great extent of the region over which our Missions are scattered in South Africa, if I state that, at the time when our Stations were nearest to each other, Mr. Shaw and I were separated by a distance of not less than six hundred miles. I was thirteen years in Africa before we met; and we never enjoyed more than very brief intervals of personal intercourse. But during the whole period of my residence, either the business of the Missions, or the uninterrupted feelings of private friendship, caused us to keep up a constant correspondence.

The deeply interesting letters which Mr. Barnabas Shaw wrote from Namaqualand, and which were published in the "Missionary Notices," opened an entirely new field of usefulness to the view of the Methodist public. The circumstances which these letters detailed being at that time singular and strange, and being narrated in a simple yet graphic manner, directed the minds of many pious persons towards Southern Africa. Hence, not a few of the settlers who accompanied me professed to have had their attention turned to the Cape



Colony solely by Mr. Shaw's letters, from reading which, when they found it desirable for other reasons to emigrate, they were led to believe that in such a country they might have opportunities of aiding the cause of Missions, and extending the knowledge of Christ among the benighted African tribes; and I have great reason to believe that this consideration strongly influenced the minds of some of the settlers, when they resolved to embrace the opportunity afforded by the Government proposals for promoting emigration to Southern Africa. Hence, although the venerated Barnabas Shaw had no personal connexion with South-Eastern Africa, or its Missions, and, indeed, never had an opportunity of visiting them; yet his labours and letters prepared the way for the religious enterprise on which, in the arrangements of Divine Providence, I and others of the British settlers were sent.

The Rev. Barnabas Shaw died in great peace and assured hope of eternal life, at his house in Rondebosch, near Cape Town, on the 21st of June, 1857, and was buried in the presence of a numerous assemblage of persons of various nations and tribes, including also European Ministers of several Christian denominations, all of whom were anxious to testify their great respect for the memory of one who had been known at the Cape, for more than forty-one years, as a man of blameless life, and a Missionary eminently earnest and successful in the propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen.

My readers will not regard this passing tribute to the virtues and labours of the founder of the Wesleyan Mission at the Cape of Good Hope, as an unbecoming or unsuitable interruption of my narra-

tive; but I now proceed with the story of my own Mission.

On Sunday forenoon, the 6th of February, 1820, I had read prayers and preached on the deck of the "Aurora." The settlers who were going out in this vessel and the "Brilliant"—which was lying alongside of her at Deptford—had all been some time embarked. There was therefore a full and rather large attendance at public worship. As soon as service was concluded, the pilot announced that, all being now ready, and wind and tide favourable, we should set sail immediately after dinner. Accordingly, about two o'clock, the anchor was weighed, and the "Aurora" moved off, and we soon began to float down the river. The day was clear and fine; and I well remember the people stood around me on deck, while I gave out Dr. Watts's cheerful and encouraging hymn from the seventeenth page of the Wesleyan Hymn Book. As we were passing the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, although tears were streaming down many cheeks at the time, they were singing in full chorus,—while many of the veteran tars of old England were looking at us with evident surprise and interest,—

"The God that rules on high,  
That all the earth surveys,  
That rides upon the stormy sky,  
And calms the roaring seas;  
This awful God is ours,  
Our Father and our Love;  
He will send down His heavenly powers,  
To carry us above."

It would be difficult to describe the various and conflicting emotions which were passing through the minds



of the large group of men, women, and children, that crowded the deck of the "Aurora" at this time. Many wept to think that they were leaving dear old England and the much-loved friends from whom they had just parted, without any prospect of returning to their native country. They were going to a land of which none of them had any knowledge whatever; but all rejoiced in a cheerful hope that at length, after many wearisome delays, they were on their way to a region in which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, they would be enabled to found new and happy homes for themselves and their children.

We came to an anchor in the evening, a little below Gravesend, where we were detained more than a week, waiting a favourable change in the wind; during which I went ashore, and had an opportunity of preaching in our chapel. We heaved anchor again on the 15th of February; and, after passing down the Channel, finally lost sight of our native shores.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PASSAGE OUT, AND ARRIVAL.

GOOD Passage—Death on Board—Order of religious Services—A Man Overboard—Another—Anchor in Simon's Bay—Visit to Cape Town—Rev. E. Edwards—My first Sermon in Africa—Colonial Secretary—Religious Intolerance—Rev. J. M'Kenny—Arrival of British Settlers introduces Toleration—Legality of Marriages and Baptisms—Preaching at Simon's Town—Proceed on our Passage—Mr. Thomas Pringle—Safe Arrival in Algoa Bay—Prospect on Shore—Gloomy Forebodings—Difficult Landing—First Night ashore—Visit to Bethelsdorp—My first Sermon in the Eastern Province—First Funeral Service—Government Arrangements—Journey up the Country—African Wagon Travelling—Arrival at our Destination—Description of the Location—Settler's Tents—"Wattle and Daub" Houses—Reed House transformed into a Public Building—Used for various Purposes.

THE occurrences on board of ship during a passage of ten weeks from the Downs to the Cape, need not be recited in detail. We had a remarkably fine passage. The weather was generally most agreeable, with occasional variations of squalls and stiff breezes, producing the usual discomforts of a rolling vessel, which, in the case of a crowded emigrant ship, invariably occasions adventures both ludicrous and dangerous. Several children were born, and some died, on the passage. But of the adults only one was numbered among the dead,—a fine young married woman, who had embarked in bad health. She was a truly pious and devoted person, and had been connected with the Society at the Hinde Street Chapel, London. While I read the funeral service, and her remains were lowered in the usual manner over the gangway into the ocean, all felt that it was in "sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life," at that period when "the greedy sea shall its dead restore."

At the commencement, I established regular worship as follows:—on the Lord's day forenoon, we assembled on the deck of the vessel; the capstan was rigged out with flags, and constituted the pulpit, from whence I read the Liturgy, and preached; the people joining in singing the hymns in an edifying manner. In the evening I usually preached between decks. We had also domestic worship regularly, on the morning and evening of each day, reading the Scriptures, singing a hymn, and prayer, both in the cabin and also between decks, where the greater part of the settlers were accommodated. I attended each place alternately; and, in my absence from either, proper persons were appointed to conduct the worship. It was very rarely indeed these arrangements were interfered with; and they proved a great source of comfort to the people, and I have no doubt were the chief means of preserving the general good feeling and harmony which prevailed, with very slight exceptions, to the end of the passage. No fatal accidents occurred; but on two occasions a sailor fell overboard. In the first instance, the man happened to have a rope in his hand, to which he clung with amazing tenacity till relieved from his perilous situation, affording me a good illustration for a text, on which I subsequently preached: "Seeing then that we have a High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us *hold fast* our *profession*." If Christians would always "hold fast" their principles with as firm a grasp in every time of spiritual danger, as the poor sailor held on by the rope for his life, they might constantly sing,

"As far from danger as from fear,  
While Love, Almighty Love,—is near."

The other man who fell overboard had no such means of support. He was left far behind in the wake of the vessel, before a boat could be lowered and reach him: he was just sinking below the water when he was secured with a boat-hook, and ultimately, to the no small joy of all on board, was safely brought again to the ship, although in an insensible state. After the usual stimulants were applied, he soon revived, and in two or three days was again fit for duty. It is a remarkable fact, and shows the great buoyancy of the water in the deep portions of the ocean, that this man had never learned to swim; but while he gratefully acknowledged the promptitude of his shipmates in going after him in a boat, he readily admitted that he had already given himself up as lost, and that his preservation was a remarkable instance of the gracious care of Divine Providence over him.

In the course of our passage we called at Madeira, but only remained a few hours there. We also saw the Peak of Teneriffe; and on the south of the Line, on the opposite side of the Atlantic, we passed near the Martin Vaz Rocks. We sighted the Cape of Good Hope on Monday the first of May, and during the whole of that day were employed in approaching and beating into False Bay: during the night we anchored in Simon's Bay. I did not fail to remember that on this day the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting was being held in London, and hoped that the prayers of thousands then ascending on behalf of Missionaries would be answered on us just entering our field of labour,—as also on all others,—in “showers of blessings.” I landed on the jetty at Simon's Town, on Tuesday morning the second of May, and on the next day proceeded to Cape Town.



It is unnecessary to describe the country between Simon's Town and Cape Town, which has often been done before. On my arrival at the Cape, I met the Rev. E. Edwards, who had just commenced preaching in this place, having, with the aid of some pious soldiers and others, fitted up a wine store as a temporary place of worship. I had the pleasure of commencing my public ministry in South Africa by preaching in this building on Thursday evening the fourth of May, to a small congregation of civilians and soldiers, on Acts xi. 23: "Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."

While in Cape Town,—the acting Governor, Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, being away on the frontier,—I called on the Colonial Secretary, and requested information as to the channel through which I was to derive the promised means of support from the Government, after my arrival in the new Settlement. But the Secretary—who I afterwards learned was a Roman Catholic gentleman, and held this high office before the Relief Bill was passed—either knew nothing, or affected to know nothing, of my claim on the Government. He said, "All that can have been promised to you is *toleration*. You will be *permitted* to exercise your ministerial functions;" and that he represented as rather a concession to the peculiar circumstances under which the British settlers had come to the country. This induced me to show Colonel B. a letter written by Mr. Goulburn, at that time Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which the obligation of the Cape Government to "provide for" my "decent maintenance" was distinctly stated. The Secretary's tone towards me was now suddenly changed; and at



length he pleasantly bowed me out, saying that, on my arrival at my destination, I could address the Government on the subject.

When the Cape Colony capitulated to the British troops in the year 1806, it was stipulated that the Dutch Reformed Church should retain its pre-eminence and peculiar privileges; and as, by long standing regulations, no Ministers were permitted to exercise their functions in the Colony, among the white or so called Christian inhabitants, excepting those who were duly authorized by the authorities of the Dutch Church,—the English Governors of the Colony, with a strong desire to conciliate the Dutch inhabitants, interpreted the terms of capitulation so rigidly as to refuse permission to other Ministers to exercise their functions,—excepting as Missionaries among the black and coloured races. The Lutherans had, indeed, by special permission long before, established their form of worship in Cape Town; but this was probably only because many officers and soldiers of the army which had formerly served under the Dutch Government were Germans, and several influential resident families were also members of the Lutheran Church. The military and naval Chaplains of the English Church, with the Chaplain for the Governor and other English gentlemen of the civil service, could not be decently objected to; and as part of the British army consisted of some Scottish regiments, a Missionary of the London Missionary Society was tolerated in the capacity of the Scotch Presbyterian Minister.

When, however, the Rev. J. M'Kenny was appointed by the Methodist Conference to Cape Town in the year 1813, he was not permitted to discharge his ministerial duties, although he had been sent out at the earnest

solicitation of a large number of the soldiers connected with the British army then serving at the Cape. It was intended by the Missionary Committee that while he should preach to the soldiers, and such of the white inhabitants, English or Dutch, as might be willing to attend his ministry, he was also especially to turn his attention to the large slave population, who at that time greatly needed religious instruction, and were being rapidly proselyted by the resident native Mahommedan priests. But it seems that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities thought that the slaves had better become believers in the false Prophet, than that the prejudices of some of the adherents of the dominant Dutch Church should be shocked! Mr. McKenny, finding that he was not likely to obtain permission to preach, requested to be removed to Ceylon. This request was complied with; but the Methodist soldiers at the Cape reiterated their request for the services of a Pastor, and the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, not at any time easily intimidated by opposition, appointed the Rev. Barnabas Shaw his successor.

On his arrival the same objection to grant him leave to preach was urged by the Governor; but Mr. Shaw nevertheless very properly commenced religious services in a private house, which were attended by some of the soldiers, and when, under the promptings of a sense of duty, he afterwards proceeded on a Mission among the Namaquas in the interior, Mr. Edwards, who had been sent from England to aid him in the Mission, was subsequently induced, under Mr. Shaw's direction, in 1820, to take the step of fitting up a temporary place of worship, having previously ascertained, through some private friends, that, while he must expect no formal

permission by authority, yet his doing so would be winked at, as the preaching in a private room had already been for some time past.

The coming of the British settlers, however, caused a great change. It is due to the Tory Government of Lord Liverpool to say, that, without proclaiming any order in council, or in any other formal manner announcing that the freedom of religious worship was to be henceforth the right of all the inhabitants of the Colony, the liberal arrangement of Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, whereby aid was offered towards the support of a Minister for each party of one hundred settlers, without respect of religious denomination, showed that *practically* the question of religious toleration in the Colony of the Cape was settled. As I had long before received and put faith in the dictum of an eminent English lawyer, that "the Toleration Act travels with the British flag," I resolved to regard the matter in this point of view; and hence I never applied for any licence or permission from any functionary whatever, but at once proceeded to discharge all public duties wherever I met with any class of people willing to receive me in the capacity of a Minister. I preached, and celebrated the services for marriages, baptisms, and funerals, never allowing it to be supposed that I considered any man in a British Colony had any right to interfere with my religious liberty as a free-born Englishman.

On one occasion a gentleman high in office asked me by what "authority" I did these things; and I simply showed him my certificate of ordination, and of the usual oaths required by the Act of Toleration, which I had taken before the Lord Mayor of London. At

another time the acting Colonial Secretary intimated that the Government conceived I should confine my labours to the locality where the settlers resided for whom I was the recognised Minister ; but as I had no mind that the Government should assume the authority to direct my ministerial conduct, I quietly proceeded in my own way, without taking the slightest notice of this intimation ; and I heard no more about it.

After a while, however, an English Clergyman, who was subsequently appointed to Graham's Town, raised the question of the legality of the marriages and baptisms celebrated by Wesleyan Ministers ; and we were requested to refrain from performing these offices, pending a reference to Earl Bathurst, unless this ecclesiastic in each case granted permission on the personal application of the parties concerned ! But we refused to change our practice, till the case should be decided by proper authority against us ; and at length the Secretary for the Colonies intimated to the Governor that we were not to be interfered with. If there ever was any reasonable doubt about the legal validity of our marriages,—which I do not think there was, because we never married any couple without a previous licence from the local matrimonial court,—the question was finally set at rest by Her Majesty's order in council, regulating all marriages in the Colonies, and which legalized all our *de facto* marriages, on handing over duly attested registers to the Colonial Government.

On the 5th of May, Mr. Edwards, from whom I had received the most affectionate attentions, rode with me on horseback from Cape Town to Simon's Town, and, going on board, preached to the people in the evening. On Sunday, the 7th, after conducting Divine worship on deck



as usual, and trying to instruct and encourage the people by preaching on the words, "A good hope," I went ashore, and preached in a private dwelling-house, where a few soldiers were in the habit of assembling for prayer. A small congregation of about thirty persons were present, and appeared to enjoy the opportunity. A message was subsequently sent to me on board the "Aurora" by the resident Clergyman, stating that I had no right to hold religious services in Simon's Town; and if I presumed to do so again, it was hinted that certain disagreeable consequences to myself would inevitably follow. Had we been detained longer in the Bay, there is little doubt but that I should have braved this petty threat, and again preached to the poor people, who were anxious to hear the Gospel. On the 10th, however, we weighed anchor once more, and proceeded in company with the "Brilliant," which had the remainder of our party on board, besides some Scottish families under Mr. Pringle. This amiable and Christian gentleman afterwards became Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in England, and is well known as a lyrical poet of first-rate gifts, whose poetical compositions have served to render familiar to English readers many of the localities and frequently recurring scenes of Southern Africa.

The Coast was not at that time very well known to our skippers; but the various vessels, under the protection of Divine Providence, all arrived safely, and we anchored in Algoa Bay on Monday, the 15th of May; being exactly three months from the day on which we left Gravesend. It was night when we reached the anchorage; and our first engagement, after the noise and confusion consequent on casting anchor, and making the ship snug and trim, was to assemble



between the decks, and hold a meeting to offer solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for all the mercies of our passage out, and to implore His blessing on our entrance into the country now before us.

Next morning, as soon as the day dawned, most of the people came on deck to view the land of their future residence. As the sun rose over the wide expanse of ocean towards the east, and gilded with his light the hills and shores of the Bay towards the west and north, a gloom gradually spread itself over the countenances of the people. As far as the eye could sweep, from the south-west to the north-east, the margin of the sea appeared to be one continued range of low white sand hills: wherever any breach in these hills afforded a peep into the country immediately behind this fringe of sand, the ground seemed sterile, and the bushes stunted. Immediately above the landing-place, the land rose abruptly into hills of considerable elevation, which had a craggy and stony appearance, and were relieved by very little verdure. Two or three whitewashed and thatched cottages, and Fort Frederick, a small fortification crowning the height, and by its few cannon commanding the anchorage, were all that arrested the eye in the first view of Algoa Bay; with the exception of the tents of the British settlers, many of whom had already disembarked, and formed a camp half a mile to the right of the landing-place. The scene was at once dull and disappointing. It produced a very discouraging effect on the minds of the people, not a few of whom began to contrast this waste wilderness with the beautiful shores of Old England, and to express fears that they had foolishly allowed themselves to be lured away by false representations, to a country

which seemed to offer no promise of reward to its cultivators. However, the needful preparations for landing, and the anxiety to be relieved from the discomforts and monotony of their long confinement on board of ship, changed the current of their thoughts, and thereby afforded some relief to their gloomy forebodings.

The landing was not unaccompanied by difficulty or danger; but the Government had considerably sent round from the Cape one of His Majesty's frigates, and its commander took charge of the debarkation of the settlers. A very heavy surf generally breaks on the shore of this bay; hence boats of the ordinary description can rarely land their passengers, but flat-bottomed boats, of a peculiar construction, and worked by warps, receive the passengers on the outside of the surf, who are thus conveyed safely *over*, or, as sometimes happens, *through*, the successive surf rollers. When the boat is warped as far as the depth of the water will allow, the passengers, watching the opportunity of a receding wave, jump out, or are carried out on the shoulders of men, to the sandy beach beyond the reach of the sea. I believe this is a different method to that pursued in a similar case at Madras; but it is, probably, less dangerous. At all events, under the blessing of Divine Providence, such was the care of the English sailors and Scottish soldiers who aided in the working of the boats, that no serious accident occurred, in the landing of the whole body of the settlers, with their wives and children, and large amount of goods of various descriptions. It is surprising that, although there has been a good deal of improvement in the construction of these surf boats, and the manner of working them, yet the above continued to be the mode in which passengers

and goods were usually landed, up to the time of my departure from the country in 1856.

As several vessels had arrived before us, we had to await our turn; and, consequently, the whole party were not landed till some days had elapsed. In the interval I went on shore; and, after rambling with others some hours in a most unsatisfactory inspection of the neighbourhood, I was unable to get on board again in the evening, and was obliged to take up my quarters in a miserable place used as a canteen or liquor shop. Fearing to lie down on the earthen floor, I crept into the space between two large barrels, the broader parts of which were in juxta-position, and thus afforded me a rude sort of couch, on which I essayed to take my first night's rest in this part of Africa,—obtaining as much sleep as my uncomfortable bedstead, and the noisy carousals of a drinking party at the other end of the wretched building, would allow.

By the 25th of May, the whole of our party were safely landed, and encamped with the other settlers, awaiting the arrival of wagons, which were to convey them to the District of Albany, where the Settlements were to be established, at a distance from Algoa Bay of from eighty to one hundred and twenty miles. While here, having obtained a Hottentot guide, I went on a visit to Bethelsdorp, and received a most kind and Christian-like welcome from the Rev. George Barker. This Station was founded by the Rev. Dr. Vanderkemp, one of the first Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa. The locality is very sterile, and unsuited to the purposes of a flourishing institution. At the time when I first visited the place, the Hottentot population appeared to have made but very little



progress in the formation of their buildings, or in the appliances and comforts of the social state. It must, however, be recollected that I had very recently left England; and the contrast between the appearance and dwellings of its inhabitants, and those of the natives of Africa, must always strike the new comer as being greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. I had not, at this time, seen any of the native tribes in their wild and untutored state. Subsequently, I had abundant opportunities of forming an acquaintance with their condition before they had received any advantage from missionary training; and although the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp were certainly, at the period referred to, in a social state very far below that in which many of them may now be found on various Mission Stations and in other parts of the Colony, yet I am satisfied that even when I first saw them, they had been already greatly elevated above the very degraded condition in which the Missionaries first met them. With regard to their attendance on religious ordinances, it appeared to be most satisfactory. Not a few, in the opinion of Mr. Barker, were truly devoted Christians; and a meeting held in the evening, for reading the Scriptures and prayer, in a substantially built and commodious church, was numerously attended. Their harmonious singing, and the apparently earnest and devout manner in which they engaged in the service, was at once refreshing and encouraging to my mind. This Station is distant about eight miles from Port Elizabeth, and will ever be memorable as the foundation of that very extensive Mission of the London Society, in all parts of the Cape Colony, which has issued in the general spread of Christianity and education amongst a very large portion

of the Hottentots and other coloured people within its limits; besides leading to the establishment of the less numerous, but very important, Missions more recently commenced by the same Society among the nations beyond the colonial boundaries.

On Sunday the 28th of May, I preached my first sermon in what is now called the Eastern Province of the Colony. I took my stand close to some pyramidal stones which in a singular manner rose above the surface of the ground to a considerable height, and stood close to the road within a short distance of the settlers' camp. It is remarkable that the Wesleyan Chapel now stands in the main street of Port Elizabeth very near the spot, which is well remembered, although the stones have long since been removed. With reference to God's goodness to us thus far, I preached from "Ebenezer," the Stone of Help: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." (1 Sam. vii. 12.) In the afternoon I preached again on the same spot, endeavouring to improve the melancholy event of the death of one of the settlers who came out in the "Brilliant." He had been a Local Preacher in London, and died after his arrival in port; and I was thus called upon immediately to perform the sad office of reading the funeral service over one of my charge. He was interred in the burial-ground, which had already been selected for the interment of certain sailors, soldiers, and others who had been drowned, or had died at this place. It has become the principal burial-ground of the town. A considerable number of the settlers attended these services. I preached twice during the week; and on the following Sunday a part of the commissariat store was prepared for Divine service, and I conducted Divine worship therein. There



was a considerable congregation of settlers and soldiers. Many of the latter told me they had not heard a sermon for three or four years previously to my arrival in the Bay. During this Lord's day I also celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and was joined therein by a goodly company of serious communicants.

When the Government issued proposals in England for this emigration, one of the regulations was, that each head of a family, or other settler, who was to be entitled to one hundred acres of land, should deposit ten pounds, to be repaid through the head of the party after arrival in the Colony. Some of the parties consisted of individuals whose head or leader advanced the whole deposit-money for himself and ten or fifteen other settlers, who were articulated under various kinds of agreement to the head of the party, to reside with and to assist him,—he being entitled to the whole of the land allotted for each of the settlers who accompanied him. But the greater number, including the whole of the party with which I was connected, paid their own deposit-money, and each man had a claim for land in his own right; while the head of the party (Mr. Sephton) was simply elected by themselves as their representative, for convenient transaction of business with the Government functionaries, in all affairs involving the public interests of the whole.

The Home Government had sent out to Algoa Bay a good supply of agricultural implements, and other useful utensils, which the settlers were allowed to purchase, if they thought fit, on account of a portion of their deposit-money. And as it was impossible that they could provide themselves with the means of transit to the District of Albany, the colonial authorities, with great consider-

ation, caused the Dutch farmers from various parts of the Colony to come with their wagons and convey them thither, in the same manner, and for the same rates of remuneration, as had been usual in the transport of troops. The Commissariat was also employed to provide rations for the settlers on a fixed scale, until it would be practicable for them to raise crops. Towards payment of the expenses incurred hereby, one third of the deposit-money was ultimately detained by the Government, who had from necessity disbursed a much larger amount than that proportion of the money originally deposited would refund. Mistakes and blunders were of course committed by the authorities; but no candid persons among the settlers will, on the review, hesitate to speak with gratitude of the kind and considerate arrangements made by the Government on their behalf.

Having awaited our turn, at length, on Monday the 5th of June, I loaded the two wagons assigned me; and, in company with many other settlers, we started on our journey up the country. The cavalcade, as it wound along the so-called road, and ascended the heights which intersected the path at various parts of our course, had a very picturesque appearance. The African wagons, covered with white sail-cloth tilts, each drawn by twelve or fourteen oxen, urged on by stalwart Dutch Colonists in rather primitive attire, or by tawny Hottentots with hardly any attire at all,—the noise occasioned by the incessant cracking of their huge whips, and the unintelligible jargon of the leaders and drivers, when urging the oxen, or while talking with each other,—all combined to produce in our unsophisticated English minds wonder and amusement. In some parts, however, the roads were rough and rocky; and from our inexperience in the

African mode of packing a wagon, so as to make it comfortable, we were dreadfully jolted, and in general the men preferred walking; but the women and children suffered a good deal from knocks and contusions on head and shoulders, and other parts of the body.

In some places it was highly dangerous to remain in the wagon, as the road was often uneven and precipitous, and the wagons were not unfrequently overturned. On one occasion I was sitting in the wagon with my wife and child, as we approached the bank of the Bushman's River, at which there was at that time a deep and almost precipitous descent towards the drift or ford. Being seated in the back part of the wagon, which was rather an English than a colonial arrangement, we could not see anything in front. The Dutch driver, finding we did not descend, came behind the wagon, and tried to make us understand that it was desirable to do so. He had learned a few words of English from the British soldiers, and, putting his hands to each side of his face, and giving a very expressive twist of his head, he exclaimed, "*Break neck.*" This was sufficiently explicit to cause our immediate descent from the wagon, which forthwith went off with such a noise and run, as made us tremble for our goods, and thankful that we were no longer in the vehicle ourselves.

We were first taken to Reed Fontein, near the western banks of the Kowie River, where it was understood the party was to be located; but after a short time it was ascertained that we had been placed on lands designed for another body of settlers! This was felt to be very vexatious, but there was no remedy; and wagons were sent to remove us to another location, some twenty-five miles distant, and which we had



already passed on our journey up the country. We arrived at our final destination on the 18th of July, 1820. Here we were immediately joined by the bulk of our party from Algoa Bay. It is not easy to describe our feelings at the moment when we arrived. Our Dutch wagon-driver intimating that we had at length reached our proper location, we took our boxes out of the wagon, and placed them on the ground; he bade us *goeden dag*, or farewell, cracked his long whip, and drove away, leaving us to our reflections. My wife sat down on one box, and I on another. The beautiful blue sky was above us, and the green grass beneath our feet. We looked at each other for a few moments, indulged in some reflections, and, perhaps, exchanged a few sentences; but it was no time for sentiment, and hence we were soon engaged in pitching our tent; and when that was accomplished, we removed into it our trunks, bedding, &c. All the other settlers who had arrived with us were similarly occupied, and, in a comparatively short time, the somewhat extensive valley of that part of the Assagaay Bosch River, which was to be the site of our future village, presented a lively and picturesque appearance.

The location assigned us extended on both sides of the stream just named for about six miles in length. It consisted of a series of valleys and bottoms of light alluvial soil. These valleys were of various and unequal width, and followed the winding course of the river, which had its source in the Zuurbergen, a range of mountains not far distant to the north. It was rather a great drain to the high lands than a river; for, although at the time of our arrival it was flowing, yet we afterwards found that for several months of the year

it does not flow; but, like many periodical streams called rivers in Southern Africa, it consisted chiefly of long reaches of comparatively deep water, but with occasional intervals of from ten to thirty yards in width, called "drifts" or fords; where, excepting after heavy rains, it was generally possible to cross the bed of the stream dry-shod. In many parts the water was brackish; but it afforded an abundant supply for all ordinary purposes, and for the large amount of live stock accumulated at a subsequent period by the settlers; while, at various points, there are valuable and never-failing springs of water of the best quality for drinking and culinary purposes.

The hills bounding the succession of long, low valleys on both sides the river, wind gently down from the extensive flats or plains which extend for many miles on the common level of the country. These plains, as well as the connecting slopes, are covered with grass, affording in most seasons an abundant supply for cattle. The sides of the hills descending to the valleys are in many parts variegated with patches of wood, of several varieties, affording abundance of fuel, and of poles, &c., for building and other purposes. The bottoms by the river side were in most places nearly destitute of trees, and presented a great extent of land ready to receive the plough; and when the white tents of the settlers were pitched and dotted up and down on their several homesteads, the scene presented to the eye was at once romantic and pleasing. It was not like a soldiers' encampment, but rather suggested the idea of a large number of persons who had recently gone forth from some crowded city to enjoy the pure air, and bask under a beautiful sky, in picnic parties of pleasure.



There were not wanting among the settlers those who admired the beauties of nature, and who often expressed to others of similar tastes their admiration of many lovely nooks and corners where the hand of man had as yet done nothing ; but all were soon awakened to the necessity of dealing with the stern realities of life. The tents were very hot during the day, and cold at night. They were not always a protection from the occasional heavy showers of rain, and in the frequent high winds they were anything rather than safe and secure dwellings. Hence every one was soon busily occupied in cutting poles, and conveying them to the respective homesteads, or handling the hatchet, the adze, the hammer and nails, and other implements and materials required for building operations.

After a while a great variety of fragile and grotesque-looking huts or cottages began to arise. These were generally built in the style called by the settlers "wattle and daub." A space of ground was marked out, according to the views of the future occupant of the structure, large enough for one or two rooms. The best generally were designed for two rooms of about ten by twelve feet each, forming a building of ten by twenty-four feet. Strong upright posts were planted all round the building about two feet apart ; these were firmly fixed in holes dug in the ground to the depth of eighteen or twenty inches to receive them ; they rose to the height of about six feet above the ground ; thinner poles were planted between the stout posts, and then a quantity of smaller wood, slender branches of trees or shrubs, was cut, and used for the purpose of wattling all round the building. When this was completed, it had the appearance of a great wicker vessel or huge basket.

A wall-plate, being generally a large pole squared by the adze, was nailed on the tops of the upright posts on each side and end of the building. A roof, consisting of as many rafters as were necessary, all of poles, was securely nailed to the wall-plates. On the rafters were nailed, or sometimes tied, laths at proper distances, to which the thatch of rushes or reeds, cut from the bank of the river, was fastened by means of cord made from the rushes. When the whole was covered, the walls were usually plastered over, inside and out, with clay mixed and prepared with water, and tempered by treading with the feet in the same manner as brickmakers prepared clay for bricks before pugmills were invented. At first there was no plank for doors, or glass for windows: hence a mat or rug was usually hung up in the void doorway, to do duty for the one; and a piece of white calico, nailed to a small frame of wood, and fastened into two or three holes left in the walls for the purpose, admitted light into the dwelling during the day, when the wind rendered it inconvenient to keep these spaces open. The floors of these dwellings were usually made of clay. Ant-hills, which had been deserted by the ants, were used for this purpose; and, when properly laid, they made hard and level floors, which were kept in order by being often smeared over with a mixture of fresh cow-dung and water,—a mode of securing clean and comfortable *earthen* floors, which, however strange to English ideas, all natives and colonists of Africa know to be indispensable. After a while those who aspired to neatness and comfort found pipe-clay, and at length limestone, from which they obtained lime, and thus they were enabled to whitewash their tenements, which gave them a more cheerful and

greatly improved appearance. I have described the better class of structures erected by the settlers at the beginning; but there were many whose first attempts were miserable failures, and hardly served to protect them from the weather. Some, taking advantage of particular spots favourable to their purpose, thought they saved themselves labour by digging out holes, and burrowing in the ground, placing a slight covering over their excavations; while others, again, filled up interstices between perpendicular rocks, and thus obtained very substantial, but rather cold and uncomfortable, quarters.

There was a ruinous wattled and reed building which had been erected by a Dutch farmer, during his temporary sojourn on these lands. It stood in a central situation; and it was resolved that it should be public property, and be used for general purposes of utility. It was about fifty or sixty feet long, ten or twelve feet broad; and the walls from the earthen floor were about five feet high, with an open roof thatched with reeds. This building was for some time used as our temporary place of worship. It was likewise the "town hall;" for here all public meetings of the settlers, on matters of general concern, were holden. Here were also kept the commissariat supplies, where the rations of meat and flour were distributed. Part of the building, being separated from the rest by a temporary screen, was also, on occasion, used as a "lying-in hospital;" and here was born a child of one of the settlers, who afterwards grew up to manhood: and whom, on the 25th of November, 1848, I had the gratification, in conjunction with other Presbyters of the Wesleyan Church, to ordain to the office of the Christian ministry.

All these contrivances for dwellings and public buildings have long since passed away ; and the settlers now generally occupy good and substantial stone or brick houses, which, as they gradually surmounted their early difficulties, were erected on their homesteads and farms ; and not a few of them have taken care to provide their families with every convenience and appliance requisite in that country for domestic comfort. But I have thought the English reader might wish to know how they managed to obtain shelter for themselves at first ; and, should any of the surviving British settlers of 1820 read these pages, they will not regret this reference to their early difficulties, over which, by the " good hand of God " upon their enduring industry, they have long ago so nobly triumphed.



## CHAPTER III.

### PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN ALBANY.

SETTLEMENT named by Major-General Cuyler—Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Somerset—Extent of the District—Description of the Country—Locations of the Settlers—Scottish and Irish Settlers—Character of the Soil—"Precious Stones"—Industry of the Settlers—Labour under Difficulties—Extent of cultivated Land—"Rust" in the Wheat Crops—Privations—Healthful Climate—Many abandon their Locations—Graham's Town becomes the Capital—Destructive Storm—Great Distress—Settlers' Relief Fund—Crisis of the Settlement—Unusual Costumes—Settlers from various Classes of Society—Beneficial Influence of their diversified Antecedents—Rise of Trade in Albany—Causes of the Paucity of its present Agricultural Population.

SOME who read these pages may probably be desirous of being informed how the British Settlement in Albany, and the Eastern Province of the Cape, progressed from the time of its foundation in 1820, and what are its present state and prospects. The history of the Settlement has not yet been written, and I do not design, in this small work, to supply that desideratum; but I will fill this chapter with some details which, to many readers in England, will probably be new; while those who feel no interest in the affairs of a rising British Colony, but read this book with an exclusive view to the statements it contains relative to the condition of the Heathen, and the progress of Christian Missions, can skip the present chapter, and they will find, in succeeding parts of the book, that which will, I hope, in some degree meet their wishes.

The Settlement was formed in a tract of country called by the Dutch farmers, from the character of its pasturage, the *Zuur Veldt*, or "sour grass" country; but Colonel (afterwards General) Cuyler, who was the Landdrost of Uitenhage, of which division or district it formed a part, named it "Albany," by which designation it has always been known among the English. It was first formed into a sub-district with a Deputy Landdrost, at the time of the arrival of the British settlers; and that office was then held by Captain Somerset, now Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Somerset, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief at Bombay. On this officer devolved the important duty of locating the various parties of settlers, under instructions from Sir R. S. Donkin, who was the acting Governor of the Colony, during the absence, in England, of Lord Charles Somerset.

It is but justice to the present Sir Henry Somerset to say, that his activity in the discharge of this irksome and somewhat difficult task, and in many cases his kind consideration for the position and circumstances of the settlers, were most praiseworthy; and, as an evidence that they were regarded at the time with grateful feelings, I may here mention that I was one among twenty-four persons, principally heads of parties, who presented to Captain Somerset a written document, in which we thanked him in warm terms for the manner in which he had endeavoured to promote the welfare of the British settlers. This address was presented to him at his residence at Oatlands, in Graham's Town, February 15th, 1821, on occasion of his being about to leave that part of the Colony. He subsequently returned to the frontier, but his duties were, from the

time of his return, exclusively military; and, as he rose rapidly to the highest command, he won the approval and gratitude of the settlers on many important occasions, by his activity and gallantry in defending their lives and property, when in imminent peril during the Kaffir wars.

The Zuur Veldt, or Albany, extends along the line of coast from Bushman's River to the Great Fish River, and is bounded on the north-west, or inland side, by an irregular line which runs nearly parallel to the coast at an average distance of about 60 miles,—the average distance from the Bushman's River to the Great Fish River being about 50 miles. This division of the Colony may be roughly estimated as having an area of about 3,000 square miles; but as only that part of the district which lies adjacent to the sea, to the extent of some 30 miles inland, was to be occupied by the settlers, the area appropriated to them at first was about 1,500 square miles, or rather less than 1,000,000 acres.

A high range of mountains forming the eastern termination of the Zuurbergen, which run for a great distance parallel with the coast, gives rise to the Bushman's River, the Assagaay Bosch River, the Karekah, the Kowie, and the Kap Rivers, which, with some smaller intermediate streams taking their rise nearer the sea in a secondary range of hills, at once supply sufficient water, and serve to diversify the general surface of the district. These streams, however, in most cases, only flow during a part of the year; but the general elevation of the country being much above the level of the sea, the periodical floods have scooped out immense ravines and deep beds by which they flow into the





BROOKHOUSE POORT. ALBANY, SOUTH AFRICA.

Engraved by J. Long





ocean. The result of this conformation is generally a romantic and rugged country in the vicinity of these streams, while the intervals consist of extensive grassy plains or prairies. Hence, while it is easy to traverse the district from north to south, by keeping on the high plains between two principal streams, it is always a work of difficulty to travel from west to east, in consequence of the rocky precipices and widely extended bush or jungle which in some parts fringe the hills that slope down from the plains to the river valleys below.

The general appearance of the district is picturesque and pleasing. Excepting during very severe droughts the country is covered by a coarse grass, and usually has a verdant aspect. The *Mimosa* studs the plains and slopes of the hills. In many parts a thick shrubbery grows in patches, as if planted for ornament, and gives the country a park-like appearance; while in other places, favoured by shelter from the high winds, trees of a much larger growth shoot up to a considerable height; among which are most conspicuous the straight and tall *Euphorbia*, with their naked and melancholy-looking branches, relieved, however, by the *Erythrina Castra*, or *Corallo-dendrum*, known among the Dutch farmers and English colonists as the *Kafferboom*. This often grows into a large and umbrageous tree, and is sometimes met with standing apart. In the spring season it is covered with innumerable blossoms, of a brilliant scarlet colour, giving it a very gorgeous appearance. I saw some poles of this kind of tree planted by a Dutch gentleman before his house in Graham's Town in the year 1820. They struck root, and have grown into large and highly ornamental trees, still standing in the High Street, where they were

originally planted. They have witnessed the rise and progress of the town; and the inhabitants, no less than the present proprietor,—an English gentleman,—who has always taken great care of them, and to whose house they afford shade and ornament, would regret their decay and disappearance, as the removal of old and familiar friends.

On the arrival of the settlers, they were immediately placed in all parts of this district. The first parties being set down near the Great Fish River, and, consequently, furthest in advance; the next arrivals were located on the nearest available spot to the westward, and so on with each fresh batch, till all the most promising spots for location were occupied from the mouth of the Fish River in the east, to the Bushman's River on the western extremity of the district. A small party of Scottish settlers, under Mr. Pringle, were settled in the Cradock District, on the Baviaans River, about one hundred miles to the north of Albany, and in the midst of a number of Dutch farmers, who, at that period, occupied that part of the country. A body of settlers from Ireland, under Mr. Parker, a gentleman from Cork, and who had once been the Mayor of that city, were most inconsiderately located on the western side of the Colony, in Clan William district, bordering on Namaqualand, a country not at all adapted to their circumstances; and which, by its great distance from the eastern frontier, cut them off from all intercourse and sympathy with the British settlers. As might have been foreseen, their settlement was soon broken up, and the Irish settlers scattered. Many of them returned to Cape Town, where they easily obtained employment. A small party of them, however, availed themselves of a proposal of the local

Government, and were forwarded to Algoa Bay; and ultimately obtained a grant of land among the other settlers in Albany. The Clergyman who had accompanied the Irish party to the Cape Colony, Rev. F. McClelland, after the party was dispersed, obtained an appointment as Chaplain at Port Elizabeth, which was, at that time, just beginning to be built on the shore of Algoa Bay.

There was considerable diversity in the soil of Albany. In some places it consisted of a stiff red loam; in others, a rich black earth prevailed; while, in parts near the sea, the ground was almost entirely loose sand, only held together by the crop of long coarse grass which was growing upon it: but, in general, the settlers who were best acquainted with agricultural pursuits, deemed the country likely to render a rich return for such labour as might be bestowed upon it, if the land were judiciously treated, as the various qualities of the soil seemed to require. Some parts of the district were intersected by masses of loose stones and stratified rocks, lying near or on the surface; and, in some instances, the first division of the lands made amongst the settlers in the several locations, caused an undue proportion of these plots, unfit for cultivation, to be included in the allotments of individuals. A case of this kind gave occasion to a rather ludicrous occurrence, which formed a pleasant story, often told by the early settlers. While stipulating that each settler should receive a grant of one hundred acres of land, it was distinctly stated that the Government reserved its right over "all minerals and precious stones," that might be discovered on the lands. A settler, who had been unable to obtain any redress of his grievance, as to the



alleged worthlessness of his location for the purposes of cultivation, went to the acting Magistrate at Bathurst, to complain. The Magistrate, a military officer, not remarkable for his suavity in the transaction of business at any time, was indisposed to pay much attention to certain matters which the settler, who was the head and representative of a small party of ten families, wished to urge on his notice at this interview. Consequently, he was about to retire; but, before leaving the room, he said, "Well, Sir, but I wanted to speak with you concerning the reserve made by Government on the land, in consequence of which I think it is hardly worth our while to continue upon it." "Reserve!" said Captain T., "what reserve?" "Why, has not the Government reserved all minerals and precious stones that are found on the locations?" "Certainly," said the Magistrate in a milder tone and manner than he had just before indulged; "but do you know of any precious stones being found?" "O, yes!" replied the settler, "there are plenty on my location." "Indeed! how do you know they are precious stones, and of what kind are they?" "Precious big ones, Sir," responded Mr. H., and immediately retired from the magisterial presence. I repeat the story as nearly as I can remember to have heard it frequently told by various persons. I believe the settler ultimately obtained some alteration in the boundaries of his location; at any rate, I am sure he deserved it, for his wit and ingenuity in gaining the unwilling ear of the only local authority who could help him.

I must bear my testimony to the determined industry with which these first settlers, with some exceptions, set to work. The Government had engaged to supply

them with rations, to be paid for from the deposit money, paid by them into the Colonial Office in England, till they could raise crops of food for themselves; and all but a few drunken and "ne'er-do-weel" sort of persons commenced digging and planting with the greatest industry. But it was labour under difficulties. Many had never been accustomed to handle the spade, and were much better acquainted with the works and ways of large towns and cities, than with the occupations and modes of life which most prevail in our agricultural villages and districts. There were ploughs; but they had been sent from England, and were not adapted to breaking up the rough African lands; and happy was the settler who could command the means for purchasing some trained oxen, and obtain the assistance of any stray Hottentot or impoverished Mulatto who understood the use of the strong and rudely contrived ploughs, by which the Dutch boors of the country generally broke up the virgin earth. The management of the oxen, and the guidance of the plough, with such bullocks, unaccustomed to the yoke, and by drivers who knew not how to control them by the use of the unwieldy African whip—to say nothing of the intense heat of the sun, which sometimes, notwithstanding it was the winter season, shone out with overpowering lustre—rendered these field occupations toilsome and unsatisfactory.

It was, however, surprising to see the extent of land which had been broken up by the spade and plough, during the first two seasons. From the gardens were raised, in many places, various esculents in abundance, which afforded promise that horticulture would prove a profitable employment; but the wheat, of which

considerable quantities had perhaps been inconsiderately sown at first, proved an entire failure, in consequence of a fatal blight which became general. It was called "the rust," from its covering blade, stem, and ear of the plant with reddish-looking spots, which, if rubbed when in the early stage of the disease, left rusty stains on the hand; and in a few days it completely destroyed the tissue of the plants, as rust will in time corrode iron. Nothing could be more promising than were the crops of wheat in all the early stages of their growth; but just as the stems began to shoot into ear, and in some cases even after the grain was formed in the ear, this blight attacked it, and the whole crop became worthless. The disappointment was great the first season; but it was supposed that the disease might arise from some cause connected with the first cultivation of the ground and sowing it with wheat, and that it would perhaps not appear again. But after repeating their attempts for two or three seasons with the same result, the settlers were quite discouraged, and gave up all hope of being enabled to raise bread for themselves and their families from the ground. Other kinds of grain, indeed, they soon found could be easily grown: rye, barley, oats, and Indian corn, were raised in large quantities; and, by various ingenious contrivances, these kinds of produce supplied the want of flour and bread made from wheat.

The first three or four years were spent in great suffering and privation. The general distress, however, would have been much greater, but the settlers were enabled, by purchase or barter with the older Dutch colonists, to obtain a supply of horned cattle. These cattle grazed and increased on the common pastures, and the cows afforded a considerable supply of milk, which,



with pork and the various kinds of grain already enumerated, and pumpkins, potatoes, and other garden produce, enabled them to feed their families. Many also made butter and cheese, and, by carrying these articles regularly to the Military Stations for sale, they obtained the means to purchase a few groceries. The latter were not, however, always to be had in the scantily supplied stores, and the settlers soon discovered that a plant which grows throughout the district could be used in the form of decoction as a refreshing beverage, only not *quite* so good as tea; while roasted barley, when ground into a fine powder, formed a substitute for coffee. Now and then wild honey from the rocks or woods furnished the means of sweetening those beverages. Happily, as the older Dutch colonists possessed large herds of cattle and sheep, flesh-meat could generally be obtained at small cost: hence there was never a period of actual starvation. But if the climate had not been of the most healthful kind, it is likely that the extremely low and coarse diet to which numbers were unavoidably limited, with exposure to rain and damp, and the rapid alternations of heat and cold, would have induced extensive disease and premature death. But this was not the case. The people were generally in the highest health, perhaps from being much in the open air; and some medical men who had accompanied the settlers from England left the district in disgust, as being not likely to afford them any opportunity for the practice of their valuable profession.

The non-issue of rations by the Government, after the settlers had been nearly two years on the ground, became the signal for a considerable number of the people to abandon their allotted lands. At first it was intended



that the capital of the district should be at a spot called Bathurst, chosen for its great beauty of situation, and its proximity to the mouth of the Kowie River, which was regarded from the first as likely to become the future port of the settlement, whenever suitable works could be constructed for removing or deepening the bar at its mouth. On the return from England of Lord Charles Somerset, however, Graham's Town—already the head quarters of the troops—was constituted the capital of the district. This measure was very unpopular for a time; but events have shown that it was a better arrangement than that first meditated.

In consequence of the proclamation fixing Graham's Town as the capital, there arose a great demand for mechanics and labourers of all kinds, for the purpose of erecting houses and barracks. Hence most persons who were qualified to enter upon these branches of industry, gradually withdrew from their locations, and obtained employment at high wages, or became masters on their own account. As the town increased rapidly, an opening for trade was presented, and stores and shops soon began to rise up for the supply of the troops and population of various classes. Thus Graham's Town, from being, at the time when the settlers arrived, a mere military cantonment, with some ten or fifteen small and chiefly temporary dwellings erected by married officers and non-commissioned officers, and a few camp followers, —soon began to assume the appearance of a bustling and rising town.

In October, 1823, when the settlers had been about three years and a half in the country, a fearful storm occurred, during which the rains fell and the winds blew in a most terrific manner. The dwellings of the

people, including some that had been deemed very substantial, were in numerous instances blown down: others were washed away by torrents of water. The rivers, rising much higher than had been conceived possible, overflowed their banks, and carried off the standing crops; while in some instances individuals were swept away with the strong current, and drowned. The distress which followed this catastrophe was very severe, and many very worthy persons were reduced by it to great straits. Besides a limited amount of pecuniary aid, promptly offered to the distressed by Government, it must be recorded to their lasting honour, that various benevolent persons, in Cape Town and India, on hearing of this calamity, contributed considerable sums for the relief of the distressed. The late Rev. Dr. Philip, whose acquaintance I had previously made, on occasion of his visiting the frontier, and H. E. Rutherfoord, Esq., took a leading part in this generous movement. Mr. Rutherfoord undertook the laborious office of Secretary to the Committee in Cape Town, on whom was devolved the work of distributing the funds contributed for this object. This gentleman corresponded with me very frequently on this matter; and his letters, still in my possession, show the anxiety felt to relieve the most pressing cases as promptly as possible. The duty of distributing the earliest remittances among the greatest sufferers, was committed to me. As I was already known to the whole body of the settlers, and, in consequence of my frequently visiting the various locations in my ministerial capacity, I was perhaps as well, or better, acquainted with the circumstances of the people than any other person,—I could not decline to render aid in the distribution of this relief, although I found it required

much time, and was a duty of great delicacy and difficulty. But, while engaged in this labour of love, my removal to Kaffraria became necessary; and, before I left the Settlement, a local committee of Ministers and gentlemen was formed, who acted in concert with the committee in Cape Town, and on this committee ultimately devolved the difficult work of distributing the large funds which had been contributed in India and elsewhere for this truly benevolent purpose.

This was the crisis of the Settlement. Many who remained on the lands were in great difficulties. The clothes which they had brought with them from England were now worn and threadbare; there were but very limited means of purchasing, at the enormous prices then charged, the needful materials for replenishing their wardrobes; and not a few were glad to attire themselves in the costume that had prevailed among the Dutch farmers, and others, in South Africa, before the arrival of the settlers. At this period I was myself obliged to ride about the Settlement dressed in a sheep-skin jacket and trowsers, with a broad-brimmed hat, made from the leaves of the *Palmiet*, which grew in some of the streams. My dress was in fact similar to that worn by a large number of persons; and it was well adapted for "roughing it" on the road and in the jungle; but not exactly such a dress as an Englishman prefers when circumstances pecuniary and otherwise will allow of an alternative. Even the females had to exhibit their characteristic ingenuity in devising dresses from the coarse kinds of cotton stuffs which at that time were brought to the Cape from India, and sold at high prices. In some instances the well-dressed sheep-skin was formed into a skirt or frock; and hats and

bonnets, made also from the same material as those worn by the men, were in very general use. It is a pity that all this occurred before the days of photography, or many highly respectable families in Albany, and other portions of the Cape Colony, might now possess some portraits of their fathers and mothers, the "founders" of the Albany Settlement, exhibiting very grotesque costumes of a highly historic character.

It was complained at the time, and it has occasionally since been rather sneeringly said of the first English settlers in Albany, that they were generally unfit to form the population of a new country. It was affirmed that they were a race of Cockneys; and that persons with such unpromising antecedents as weavers, pen-makers, pin-cutters, &c., were found in considerable numbers among them. I need hardly say that this was a gross exaggeration, founded upon a few exceptional cases. That in such a large body of people there were some who had probably mistaken their providential call when they resolved to emigrate to South Africa, is not unlikely; but, after a long and intimate acquaintance with the settlers, I have been led to regard them, on the whole, as a very suitable class of persons for founding a new Colony. About one half had emigrated from London, and other large towns and cities in Britain, and the remainder came from various agricultural villages and districts. Observation and experience have led me to the conclusion that these proportions in the classes of emigrants to an entirely new country, are better than a body of people selected *wholly* from agricultural districts. Those from the towns and cities comprised a large number of artificers and mechanics, possessing skill of a kind most valuable in a new



community; while others from the towns had a perfect knowledge of the principles of trade and commerce, and a general intelligence far exceeding the average of that displayed by the class of agricultural labourers in England. There was also a fair proportion of half-pay officers, and other educated persons of gentlemanly tastes and feelings, who, from various causes, had been led to emigrate from Great Britain at this period. Hence the settlers of Albany really had amongst them men adapted to every want of society as it exists in a newly forming community.

The advantage of this diversity in the capacities and qualifications of the settlers became very evident when the people were reduced to their lowest state. Nearly the whole body of the mechanics soon found very profitable employment in the town; and when that seemed to be overstocked, many of them removed to Algoa Bay, Uitenhage, Somerset, Graaff Reinett, and other towns or villages in the eastern districts of the Colony. Those who did not possess mechanical skill, but who, having come from the cities and towns of England, understood trade, obtained small supplies of goods, and travelled, at first as hawkers, among the Dutch farmers, selling goods at rates that were held to be mutually advantageous. Notwithstanding very stringent laws to prevent all traffic with the native tribes, a smuggling trade was also commenced by some of the settlers. It is among my earliest pleasant reminiscences that I availed myself of an opportunity to write a long communication to the Government to show how much better it would be to legalize this trade, and to appoint fairs at which the settlers and Kaffirs might meet for the purpose of barter. In 1823, the first attempt of this kind was

made by authority of the Government; and it afterwards grew into a system which continued for some years, till at length the trade was released from all restrictions, and greatly extended. Into these openings for trade, both among the Dutch farmers and the native tribes, many of the settlers entered with much skill and energy; and thus not a few individuals who hardly seemed likely to succeed as cultivators of the ground, commenced trafficking with the investment of only a few pounds sterling, or, in some cases, with goods obtained entirely on credit, in reliance on their known good character: and this was the foundation of a long course of successful trade, which has in almost every case supplied them with ample means of support for their families in comfort and respectability, and, in some instances, led to the realization of very handsome fortunes. As a further evidence that a full proportion of well educated and intelligent persons were included in the number of the emigrants of 1820, I may mention that, in the course of years, the Colonial Government was glad to avail itself of the services of some of them, who have been engaged in the civil service of the Colony as Civil Commissioners, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, or in other prominent and responsible offices; while, as will soon appear, others became teachers in academies, and Ministers of religion.

Thus many of the very individuals whom some would have thought unsuitable to people a new country proved most valuable members of the community, and by their skill and general intelligence have developed the resources of the Colony; while, by drawing off from their locations, they left more scope for the class of agricul-

turists, for whom by their mercantile energy they provided markets which have gradually stimulated and rewarded their industry in the cultivation of the soil and the care of cattle and sheep. The one hundred acres granted at first to each settler did not allow sufficient extent for grazing their stock, and the settlers were in the beginning rather inconveniently crowded on their locations; but as more than one half ultimately abandoned their lands, which were afterwards granted to the actual residents, or otherwise became their property by purchase from the original owners, this evil was remedied, and, so far from being overcrowded, the locations and farms in Albany are at present much too thinly populated.

Now that there is a great and steady demand for agricultural produce, the coast part of that district might on a good system receive five times its present European population as agriculturists, with great advantage both to occupiers and owners. One reason why the rural population of Albany has of late years been so much reduced, is the disturbance and losses the people were called to endure, in consequence of the Kaffir wars; but the chief cause has been the numerous openings in the districts more inland, by the migration of the Dutch Boors beyond the boundaries of the Colony, and by the more recent founding of new districts, by the Government, on the frontier. Some of these new districts are better adapted to the purposes of sheep-walks than Lower Albany, which is chiefly fitted for agricultural occupations. The growth of wool has been found to be a most profitable pursuit; and this proved a sufficient inducement to a large portion of the settlers, and their descendants, to migrate from Albany to the other districts of the Eastern Province.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF THE CAPE COLONY.

THE Division of the Colony into two Provinces, recommended by His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry—Appointment of Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern Province—British Settlers spread themselves through the Province—Alleged Causes of the Discontent of many of the Dutch Farmers—Their Migration beyond the Orange River—Previous Wars among the Native Tribes in that Region—Cheap Farms purchased by British Settlers—Many of them migrate to the other Districts—The EASTERN PROVINCE is now emphatically the *British* Portion of the Colony—Its Chief Divisions or Counties—Law and Government—The Cape Parliament—Dissatisfaction of the People of the Eastern Province with present Arrangements—An improved Political System requisite—Chief Towns of the Eastern Province described—GRAAFF REINETT—PORT ELIZABETH—GRAHAM'S TOWN—Population of the Province—Its Commerce—Successful Results of the British Settlement of 1820.

HIS Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, sent out to the Cape so long ago as the year 1824-5, recommended to the Home Government the separation of the large Cape Colony into two provinces, the western and the eastern; and the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, to reside within the latter. Although many of their recommendations, which greatly altered the system of law and civil administration of the affairs of the Colony, were, in due time, brought into operation; yet the views of these far-seeing gentlemen, in regard to its division into two provinces, were only very partially and



inefficiently carried out. It might have been well for the peace of the border, and would, most likely, have greatly promoted the more rapid progress of the Settlement in the Eastern Province, if a Lieutenant-Governor, and local legislature, had been promptly established therein, after Mr. Bigge and Colonel Colebrooke visited and investigated the state of affairs on the frontier. All that was done, however, was to proclaim the geographical boundaries of the two provinces; and to appoint, first, a Commissioner-General, and, several years subsequently, a Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province. But these high officers were merely constituted the channel of communication between the various officers in the province, and the chief functionaries of Government resident at the Cape. The successive Lieutenant-Governors have never been intrusted with such powers as admitted of any independent action on their own responsibility; or even aided by a local legislature, in the form of a council, either elected or nominated. There is still a Lieutenant-Governor, who is also Commander of the Forces; but the only manner in which the province is now distinctly recognised in the legislative affairs of the Cape Colony, is that, by the constitution of the Cape Parliament, it is provided that seven of the fifteen Members of the Upper Chamber, or Legislative Council, must be qualified by the possession of a certain amount of property within the Eastern Province, and can only be elected by the voters who reside within the limits thereof.

When the Commissioners of Inquiry made their Report, the British settlers resided, with some very inconsiderable exceptions, entirely within the boundaries of the Albany District. Having, in the previous

chapter, sketched the early history of their establishment in Albany, I will proceed to show how they have gradually extended themselves over the greater part of the Eastern Province, of which they now constitute at once the most numerous, active, and influential portion of its European population. The removal of various mechanics to other districts, and the trading visits of some of the settlers among the older Colonists in those regions, and the descriptions given by both these classes of persons, of the people and country, filled the minds of their countrymen with a certain amount of knowledge concerning the openings for trade and farming pursuits in these so called Dutch districts. A few, consequently, migrated thither from time to time; but it was not until after the Kaffir war of 1835, that circumstances arose which caused a considerable dispersion of the settlers among the other districts of the province, situated more inland, but on or near the colonial border, and which had, heretofore, been occupied almost exclusively by the South African Dutch farmers.

The painful events of the war, and the restoration of the "neutral" territory to the tribes who had so recently devastated the Colony, had greatly unsettled many of the older colonists. To this cause was added the vexation felt by many of them concerning the emancipation of their slaves; further exasperated by the bungling arrangements for the payment of the compensation money, which, while the amount allotted by the Commissioners was deemed inadequate, was paid in such a manner, that enormous deductions were made in the shape of discounts, before they could convert their compensation orders into cash. While in a state

of great excitement and dissatisfaction, arising from these causes, certain proceedings of the Clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church, designed to promote its greater efficiency; and, particularly, the anxious desire displayed by them to introduce into their public worship a book of evangelical hymns, long known and justly admired by the more intelligent of their people, but which were exceedingly disliked by many of the more ignorant and bigoted of the Boors,—added another element of discord. This was more especially observable among that portion of them called “Doppers;” who, on the north-eastern frontier, are a numerous, wealthy, and (with their own countrymen) an influential class of people. Unfortunately for the welfare of the Dutch Reformed Church, these people are a kind of sect within the Church, creating thereby a “schism in the body,” which would be much less mischievous in its consequences, if they were separated, and, as a distinct community, pursued their own methods for religious edification and usefulness,—supposing that they desire to be useful in the conversion of sinners, and the propagation of the Gospel: of the existence of such a desire, however, I never noticed among these people any decisive evidence. To all these causes of dissatisfaction may, probably, be added, a long slumbering disaffection towards the British authorities and Government, which had, on several occasions, betrayed itself as being widely spread among the old Dutch settlers living in the remoter districts of the Colony, arising, partly, from the natural discontent of a conquered people; who, as many of them conceived, had not been fairly dealt with by the English Government. The combined influence of these several circumstances, which acted, more or less power-



fully on the minds of various individuals among them, induced a very large number, during the years 1837-9, to leave the Colony, and remove, with their families, flocks, and herds, beyond its northern boundaries; and thus seek for themselves a country in the immense tracts of land only partially occupied by various native tribes in that direction.

Owing to a series of wars among the natives, of a most ferocious and bloody character, which had scattered or destroyed many tribes who formerly resided on the higher sources of the Orange and Vaal Rivers, a large region of extremely fine country, well adapted for grazing purposes, and exactly suited to the views of the Dutch farmers, was, at this period, almost entirely denuded of its inhabitants. The Hottentot, Coranna, and Bushmen tribes were few in number, and rambled over the country in pursuit of its immense supplies of game. The remnants of various Basutu and Bechuana tribes and nations were at this time also in a "scattered and peeled" condition; and hence the emigrant Dutch Boors found no difficulty in obtaining a country suited to their views, either with or without the consent of such native Chiefs as lived in the neighbourhood of the districts which they chose for their settlements.

I may refer again to this subject in another part of this volume; but it is beside my present purpose to enter further into the history and consequences of this remarkable exodus of the Dutch farmers, which has been followed by a small continuous stream of emigrants, chiefly of their own family connexions, from the old Colony ever since. An immediate result was, that a great number of very valuable sheep farms were thrown at once on the market for sale, in all the dis-



tricts where they had been heretofore almost the exclusive proprietors. As a natural consequence, superior farms were offered at merely nominal prices. I know numerous instances in which large and valuable landed properties were sold by these people—who in so infatuated a manner expatriated themselves—for trifling sums of money, or small quantities of ironmongery, and other manufactured goods; but which lands could not now be purchased for less than thousands of pounds! The British settlers in Albany were quite alive to the opportunity that was thus presented for obtaining extensive sheep farms. They were beginning to perceive the value of the country as a great wool-producing region: hence, to the utmost extent of their means, many purchased these farms, while on their removal others were induced to establish themselves at the same time in trade in the several district towns. By these means the English population of Albany was gradually reduced, and many of its villages became mere holdings of a very small number of families.

The migration from the above cause has been further perpetuated by the openings in the new districts more recently formed on the border by the Government, and has been going on for more than twenty years past. The consequence is, that the Albany settlers, with rapidly growing families, joined by a steady, although hitherto small, annual stream of British immigrants, and still further increased from time to time by officers and soldiers retiring or discharged from the army, always serving on the frontier,—have spread themselves through the greater portion of the eastern districts; and occupy in general the most prominent positions either as resident traders and merchants in the towns, or as

enterprising farmers possessing extensive sheep walks, and raising a constantly increasing supply of wool. This spread of the British element into the other districts has greatly stimulated the enterprise of the older Dutch settlers that still remain in the Colony, who now follow with rapid strides the onward progress of their English neighbours and competitors.

Thus the EASTERN PROVINCE of the Cape of Good Hope has become emphatically *the* British portion of the Colony. It consists of the divisions or counties of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Albany, Fort Peddie, Victoria, Fort Beaufort, Queen's Town, Cradock, Somerset, Graaff Reinett, Colesberg, and Albert. In the first-named seven divisions of the province, the European population consists chiefly—indeed, in the greater part of them almost entirely—of British, while the English language is universally spoken. In the divisions of Somerset and Cradock, the white population is about equally divided between Dutch and English; while in Graaff Reinett, Colesberg, and Albert, although there are many English settled among them, the Dutch preponderate, and the Dutch language still prevails. English is, however, everywhere in the Eastern Province the prevailing language in the towns; and it is used in all the public offices and courts of law.

By subdivision the number of districts or counties is constantly increasing; and each of the divisions of the Colony has now a town or village which is the capital of the division or county. This is usually placed in a central situation, and is the seat of the local magistracy. Here are also the public offices for revenue and other business of the civil government within the division. A Civil Commissioner, who is likewise the Resident

Magistrate, is established in each of these towns. His magisterial decisions in the local or divisional court are examined by the Circuit Judges from the supreme court at Cape Town. The Judges usually visit these places in rotation on Circuit, twice a year, to try the more important causes, and the persons accused of the more serious criminal offences. The Dutch-Roman law, much modified by practice and rules quoted from the Westminster courts, and producing a rather undefined and undefinable system of law,—since it is too much of a conglomerate to be exactly described by any special designation,—is in force throughout the Cape Colony and Natal. Trial by jury, in criminal cases, was, however, long ago introduced, in deference to English feelings; and since the reconstruction of the courts of law, thirty years ago, the people have justly reposed the highest confidence in the integrity of the Judges of the supreme court, whose decisions, whether approved or not, are universally believed to be wholly uninfluenced by fear or favour. At no period, since the constitution of the present supreme court, have any expressions of want of confidence, on the part of the English settlers, in the Judges or law officers of the crown become current, in reference to the general administration of the law. Their only complaint on this point has referred to the serious inconvenience, delay, and expense, involved by the chief courts of law, and the offices for transfer of landed property, and those for other public business, being in Cape Town, at the distance of from five to seven hundred miles from the various frontier districts.

The late Sir George Cathcart, who resided, during the whole time of his government, in Graham's Town,



became so sensible that this is a real grievance, that he proposed, with the concurrence of Sir John Wylde, then Chief Justice of the Colony, a plan for obviating the inconvenience, by the establishment of a branch of the chief courts and offices of the law in Graham's Town, for the frontier districts. This wise and useful proposal was, however, frustrated by strong party feeling in the Cape Town Parliament; and the matter seems to be postponed *sine die*. This is only one of many instances in which the British inhabitants of the frontier constantly complain, that their claims and interests are habitually disregarded or overruled in Cape Town. As Englishmen, and warmly attached to English freedom, they are of course pleased that the Cape possesses a Parliament freely chosen by the people; but they complain that matters have been so contrived, that the frontier inhabitants are *practically* without representation therein; and, therefore, that unless some plan can be devised, whereby they may have a fair share of influence in the legislature, it would be better for frontier interests, if the previous form of government—viz., a Legislative Council, consisting of the Governor and three or four chief functionaries, with a sufficient number of gentlemen elected by the two provinces respectively—had continued in force. This is in fact the kind of legislature now existing in the Colony of Natal.

The frontier Colonists have often and loudly demanded either a removal of the seat of government to a more central position, or the separation of the provinces into distinct governments, each having its Local Governor and legislature; with a Federal Council and Governor-General to manage all business in which the



common interests of both provinces are involved. The feeling is so strong on these points, that during a recent session of the Cape Parliament the whole of the Members of the Upper Chamber or Legislative Council for the Eastern Province resigned their seats, finding that it was useless on their part to continue a hopeless struggle against Cape Town majorities, for securing a fair share of attention and regard to frontier questions and interests. Sooner or later the Government must reconsider the present constitution and working of the Cape Parliament. Matters are rapidly tending to a dead lock in legislative affairs; and the Eastern Province is not likely to rest satisfied with the present arrangements, now that its trade nearly equals in value, both in imports and exports, that of the Western Province; and, consequently, as the revenue is chiefly derived from the import dues, the people of the eastern districts contribute as largely towards the Government treasury as the inhabitants of the Western Province. I wish the reader to observe that, in reference to this topic, I am merely stating facts well known and often agitated in the Colony; but as this is not a book designed to discuss political questions, although I have long ago formed a strong opinion on the subject, I will not here obtrude that opinion on the reader.

The three largest towns in the Eastern Province at present are, Graaff Reinett, Port Elizabeth, and Graham's Town. GRAAFF REINETT, first mentioned because it is the oldest town in the province, was founded, before the close of the last century, by the Dutch Government, as a "drostdy," or seat of magistracy, to which a Landdrost was appointed. The

district or division at that time extended over nearly the whole of the districts which are now comprised in the Eastern Province; at least over all those portions of them where any of the Dutch farmers who had migrated from the districts nearer to the Cape had established themselves. I visited Graaff Reinett in 1822; and at that time, when there was nothing like a town in any other part of the province, it did not fail to create considerable interest in the minds of all travellers on their first arrival. It is situated in a kind of bay or basin, formed by a curve in the range of mountains called the Sneewbergen, or Snow Mountains, which stretch away on its northern side from west to east. To the southward and westward, there are vast plains of *Karoo Veldt*; a kind of country very deficient in grass, but everywhere abounding in succulent shrubs and bushes, which form a very nutritive pasture for sheep and cattle, although the general aspect of a district of this kind appears to an European eye dreary and barren in the extreme.

After a long ride across a country of this description, Graaff Reinett, situated just under the mountains, copiously watered by streams from the Sanday's River, which have been led out for purposes of irrigation, well planted with trees of every kind, and the streets laid out at right angles, comprising a considerable number of substantially built houses, with antique Dutch gables, generally stuccoed and whitewashed, and a large Dutch Reformed Church and public offices,—formed altogether, in my view, a place of considerable interest, and, by contrast with the desert-like district in which it stands, seemed to shine forth in peerless beauty upon all the surrounding region. The inhabitants, at the time

of my visit, were estimated at about three thousand souls, of whom, probably, not more than one thousand were Europeans, chiefly Dutch and Germans; the remainder were slaves, Hottentots, and free Negroes. The town, which was at the time regarded as a sort of model Dutch town, and had for its Magistrate Captain—now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., did not make much progress for many years after my first visit to it. It was long before the English settlers established themselves there in any number; but since the farmers of the district have turned their attention to the growth of wool, they have found these extensive tracts of barren-looking soil to be extremely valuable as sheep walks. Hence the quantity of wool grown in the district has gradually increased to an immense amount. Graaff Reinett, being the natural centre and mart for this great wool-growing division, has received a considerable stimulus to the activity of its inhabitants and its trade. Many English traders and merchants have of late years established themselves in the place, and the population has considerably increased, and is likely to be well sustained by the constantly growing traffic which the supply of so large and prosperous a community of farmers naturally requires and repays.

PORT ELIZABETH.—I have already described the appearance of this locality, on the arrival of the British settlers in 1820. Since that time, and as a result of the formation of the British Settlement in the Eastern Province, there has gradually arisen, on this spot, a well built town, called Port Elizabeth, with a population of some five or six thousand souls, most of whom are busily engaged in the various occupations needed for

the management of the very large and flourishing trade which is now carried on in this place. The open roadstead of Algoa Bay, on the western shore of which the town has been built, had been known to navigators ever since the Cape was doubled by the early Portuguese discoverers. And after the British Government sent troops to the frontier,—which was done at first to put down the hostility of the Dutch frontier farmers to the English Government, and afterwards to protect the country from the inroads of the Kaffirs,—a gentleman from Europe was encouraged by the Government to settle near the Bay, and to carry on mercantile pursuits. Hence a vessel from Cape Town, with supplies chiefly for the troops, occasionally came to Algoa Bay, taking back a small quantity of butter and hides collected from a few of the nearest farmers. But Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, the acting Governor at the time of the arrival of the British settlers, immediately perceived that this must become a port of considerable importance. He therefore obtained an order in council declaring it a free port; and caused a town to be laid out near the landing-place, and a few of the English settlers speedily established themselves in it, to manage the landing and shipment of goods, an occupation that, commencing in a small way, and growing at first by slow degrees, has during the last ten or twenty years increased at a great rate, until the trade of the Eastern Province, almost exclusively passing through this port, reached for 1857, in IMPORTS, the large value of £1,282,556; while the EXPORTS for the same year have amounted to £1,084,640! Of course, the town has gone on increasing in population and wealth, in consequence of being the chief gate of entrance and egress of so large a



trade. Port Elizabeth is, in fact, the PORT of the Eastern Province, and has been aptly called the Liverpool of the Cape; for it already rivals Cape Town in the extent and value of its trade. Its inhabitants are chiefly British, who have on this spot fully displayed the characteristic energy and enterprise of their race. There is a considerable number of Malays and other coloured people in this town; and much of the labour connected with the shipping is done by the Fingoes and Kaffirs. But in general these people are not settled in the town; they are merely attracted by the high rate of wages which the merchants can afford to give for their useful and indispensable labour on the beach. As soon as they have accumulated the means of purchasing a few cows by their savings, this class of men usually return to their homes in the interior, and are succeeded by other labourers from the same populous hives from whence they originally came.

GRAHAM'S TOWN is the largest town in the Colony, next to Cape Town. It is in effect the capital of the Eastern Province, being the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, of the Bishop of the Anglican Church in the province, and the head quarters of the troops. It is the chief town of the division of Albany, and is considered to be the city of the British settlers of 1820, as it was chiefly built and established by them, although originally founded as a military post by Colonel Graham, in the year 1812. It has been often pronounced by good professional judges to be the very best position for the head quarters of the military force, kept for the defence of the frontier, being at once central, and possessing the means of immediate communication with

every part of the extended line occupied by the troops. Time has also shown that it is extremely well placed as an emporium of commerce for the north-eastern districts of the Colony, and the immense tracts of country beyond them to the north and east of the colonial boundary.

Several important and very active trading communities, established in various parts of the frontier, have always found Graham's Town to be their most convenient resort for mercantile transactions. Among these may be named Fort Peddie, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Bedford, Cradock, Queenstown, and Burghersdorp, to say nothing of places of smaller note, nor of King William's Town in British Kaffraria, which probably in time will conduct most of its trade by direct shipping transactions at East London,—the mouth of the Buffalo River. The continual growth of the trade of these places must feed that of Graham's Town, from whence they all derive their principal supplies. The opening of the Kowie mouth, where the works are reported by the latest advices to be in a satisfactory state of progress, will bring a port within thirty-five miles of Graham's Town; and as, from the peculiar character of the country, which for thirty miles of the intervening distance does not present the least engineering difficulty, a tramway or railroad may be laid down whenever it is deemed desirable, the town may be easily brought practically within one or two hours of the port for passengers and goods; and, indeed, whenever circumstances favour the construction of a railroad between Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth, which would be more likely to pay than any other line in the Colony, it would bring these places within an easy communication of less than four hours of each other.

Graham's Town is situated in an extensive valley on the northern base of that part of the Zuur Bergen, whence arise the chief sources of the Kowie River. It is watered by several small streams that, issuing from the mountain side, and flowing down natural channels, which they have scooped out for themselves in the deep soil, divide the town into several ridges, of nearly equal extent, running parallel with each other. The principal streets pursue straight lines along these ridges, and at convenient distances are crossed at right angles by other streets, which are rendered continuous by bridges over the intersecting streams. So that every cross street has one or two small bridges, while a bridge of considerable size, at the north-eastern end of the High Street, spans a deep gully, through which the principal stream flows, and which is often swollen by the rush of waters from the mountains in the rainy and stormy seasons. The streets are very wide and are "macadamized" with an excellent material which is obtained on one of the slopes of the mountain. There are also good broad causeways for foot passengers. In some of the streets, especially one side of High Street, a row of oaks, *Kaffir Boom*, and other trees, have been planted near the kerbstones of the causeways, which afford pleasant shade to the foot-passenger or loungee during the intense heat of the summer day, and, contrasting with the clean appearance of the whitewashed or painted walls of the houses, add greatly to the beauty of the town. The houses are generally built of stone, in a very substantial manner: a smaller number are of brick. They are rarely more than two stories high, and the roofs are usually covered with slates, or zinc obtained from England, which have generally superseded the thatch by which the first houses in Graham's Town



were covered. The older houses are, however, in general, too small for a warm climate, and were erected rather under the prevalence of European notions, and the pressure of limited means, than with a view to the requirements of such a climate, and the taste that more ample resources might have allowed.

The general appearance of the town, including its numerous well planted gardens and orchards, is highly picturesque. It possesses various public buildings,—barracks for the troops, both at the eastern and western extremities; also a large district prison. There are several well-built places of worship, including three Episcopal Churches, three Wesleyan Chapels, two Baptist Chapels, two Independent or Congregational Chapels, and one Roman Catholic Chapel. A plain but handsome building of large dimensions, in the centre of the town, is appropriated for the public offices: near it are also the premises of the two Joint Stock Banks, which have been in operation many years, and transact an extensive, safe, and profitable business. There are also a public library, a museum, and last, not least, a botanical and public garden, which, if properly cared for, will provide for the healthful and pleasant recreation of successive generations of the inhabitants.

The population of Graham's Town, comprising all classes, may be roughly estimated at about eight or nine thousand souls. Of this number, probably five or six thousand are of the European race, chiefly British. The remaining two or three thousand are natives of various descriptions, Mulattoes, late slaves, Hottentots, Bechuanas, Kaffirs, and Fingoes. The last named tribes preponderate in number. More than half the natives live in separate settlements on the eastern side



of the town, where their beehive-shaped huts or other dwellings (for some have erected comfortable cottages) occupy building lots assigned to them by the Government. The remainder of the natives live in service with their respective employers, and the whole find occupation as servants or labourers among the white inhabitants. A very small number of the coloured people born in the Colony are mechanics, and work at their trades; but the vast majority are mere labourers, who, from the constantly increasing demand, can always obtain employment and wages quite equal to their varied degrees of skill, from the most awkward and stupid to those who, by longer practice in employments to which they had not been trained in early life, are become more handy and useful.

In such a diversified population there is so much to arrest attention, that Graham's Town is far from being a dull town. It possesses a large market, attended every morning by people from the country, and traders from the interior, to sell their produce. This is not only the source of supply to the town of a large portion of its daily wants, but very frequently the traders offer for sale on these occasions the varied kinds of produce which they have brought from the far interior,—elephants' tusks, hippopotamus or sea-cow teeth, rhinoceros horns, lion and tiger skins, and ostrich feathers, with the native karosses, composed of a great variety of beautiful skins or furs of the several sorts of wild animals which are found in such vast numbers on the unbounded plains of the interior. The assemblage on the market is likewise a kind of public exchange, where the merchants and dealers meet, and business transactions are often negotiated. The market is held in the morning, after the

breakfast hour. The merchants then proceed to their large and well stocked stores, where, through the day, they are occupied by their customers, the retail dealers, whether of the town or from the country. Very frequently the streets are crowded with wagons drawn by long teams of oxen, which are employed in carrying goods to their destinations in the country, or in conveying the wool, hides, and various other kinds of produce to the sea-port, for transmission to England. The town is well supplied with shops for the sale of wares and goods of all kinds. For its size and the number of its inhabitants it is often surprising to see the amount of business which seems to be going forward. The frequent appearance in the streets of the officers and soldiers of the garrison when off duty, and the numerous occasions on which their parades or field days bring them through the town accompanied by their bands of music, and the crowds of astonished and excited natives of every class who are frequently brought together in the streets, occasion much variety of scene, and produce a great deal more vivacity than is usually witnessed in the smaller provincial towns of Great Britain.

European society in the town is formed, as far as the extent of the population will allow, into much the same classes and coteries as obtain among the several divisions of the respectable and middle classes of people in England. The constant presence of a considerable number of military officers produces its usual effect of forming a sort of upper or exclusive circle, such as would hardly be expected to arise in a young Colony, and in so limited a population; but the interests of all ranks are so much blended, and the general spirit of the people is so frank and liberal, that there is probably as

much harmony of feeling among the several classes of Europeans, as in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions.

The inhabitants are, perhaps, too much immersed in the pursuits of business to afford sufficient time for mental occupation, and they cannot be regarded as a very intellectual race; but strong good sense is a prevailing characteristic among the people who constitute the chief traders, dealers, and artificers; and the town is not destitute of professional, scientific, and literary men, who would ornament and be the pride of any society. Instruction and rational amusement are frequently supplied by means of lectures, which are regularly delivered by well qualified lecturers at stated periods during six months of each year. The lectures are generally well attended by a large number of intelligent persons, who readily avail themselves of this means of adding to their stock of general knowledge. No less than four weekly newspapers are printed and published in the English language in Graham's Town. Some of these are conducted with considerable talent, and all with a fair share of ability; and, notwithstanding the proverbial asperity of local politics, the editors generally show a just regard for their own personal character, and the welfare of the community, by excluding matter calculated to promote malicious and personal feeling, or to debase and demoralize the public mind and taste. The oldest and most influential of these local papers is the "Graham's Town Journal," which for a long period has had the largest circulation of any English newspaper published in any part of the Cape Colony, and I believe still maintains this pre-eminence, at all events in the Eastern Province. Its chief proprietor and editor from the

commencement has been my friend Mr. Godlonton, who is one of the British settlers of 1820.

The municipality is active, and the streets are generally well kept; while the supply of water, conveyed in iron pipes to nearly every part of the town, is found, excepting in seasons of unusual drought, quite sufficient to supply the public baths,—which have been formed by a company of the townspeople,—and also the various householders, with that very needful element. An increased supply of water may be readily obtained by a reasonable outlay of money; and, no doubt, the inhabitants will take care, as soon as practicable, that their own health and comfort shall be secured by an abundant supply, alike for domestic use and all requisite sanatory purposes.

The police are few in number; but the general good order of the town is, nevertheless, well preserved. There has never been a night police; nor are there, at present, any means for lighting the town at night by lamps, either with oil or gas; and yet robberies have been very infrequent. As, however, they have latterly increased in number, the inhabitants are preparing for the establishment of a night police, for the better protection of life and property. On the whole, perhaps, nowhere in the British Colonies could a more pleasant residence be found for those who do not object to a bright and rather hot climate, with society intensely colonial in its tone and general elements.

This work not being designed to give an extended account of the Colony, the above condensed sketch of the present state of the chief towns in the Eastern Province will suffice to show the important results which have arisen from the arrival of the British



settlers in 1820. In consequence chiefly of their enterprise and energy, the Eastern Province, as already stated, has become distinctively the *British* portion of the Cape Colony. The population of this province, or even of its chief towns, has not been properly ascertained. There has never been anything like an accurate census taken: hence the population returns, annually published by the Government, are mere guesses, and present a certain for an uncertain number. My impression is, that for the towns, and, probably, still more as regards the rural districts, the population is considerably understated in these returns. By a statement drawn from the Government Annual Blue Book for 1857, the entire population of the Eastern Province is given as amounting to 169,173 souls. The same authority represents the population of the Cape, or Western Province, as being 132,923. According to this statement, the population of the Eastern Province exceeds that of the Cape or Western by 36,000 souls; which is chiefly accounted for by the very large influx of starving Kaffirs, admitted into the Colony by the humanity of the Government and people in 1857; most of whom naturally remained in the Eastern Province, as being nearest to British Kaffraria, from whence they migrated. The entire population of the European race now in the Eastern Province, may be assumed to be about 60,000; of whom say 35,000 souls are British, and about 25,000 Dutch or German settlers. If we estimate the native population at about 120,000, or two to one of the European race, we shall find a total of 180,000 souls in the Eastern Province; and, without pretending to offer this as an accurate statement, I believe it will be found to be as near an

THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF THE CAPE COLONY. 83

approximation to the truth as the want of reliable returns will admit.

The advantages accruing to commerce, by the impetus derived from the activity and energy of the British settlers, since their arrival in 1820, notwithstanding the very heavy losses, and serious derangement of farming and commercial affairs, caused by successive Kaffir wars on the border districts, will be very evident from an inspection of the following extracts from the official records of Imports and Exports :—

TABLE showing the Progress of the Trade of the Eastern Province.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1821	No return	£1,500
1822	£13,090	5,200
1830	18,455	24,439
1835	39,407	32,298
1840	79,247	72,031
1845	201,485	223,032
1850	354,749	294,905
1855	376,638	586,932
1857	1,282,556	1,084,640

TABLE showing the Quantity and Value of WOOL exported from the Eastern Province, in Periods of Five Years.

Years.	Quantity. lbs.	Value. £.
1830	4,500	222
1835	78,848	4,861
1840	401,521	21,023
1845	2,085,064	104,257
1850	4,323,650	212,166
1855	9,690,250	484,512
1857	14,064,261	703,213

It is but fair to state, that a considerable quantity of

the wool exported from the Eastern Province, since 1845, is grown in the Orange Free State, beyond the boundaries of the Colony. The trade of that province is, however, chiefly conducted by persons of the British race; and it must, from the geographical position of the country, always pass through the Eastern Province. The quantity of wool exported from the Cape or Western Province, in 1857, was 3,702,961lbs, valued at £185,148; thus giving, for *the whole Cape Colony*, an export of 17,767,222lbs, and amounting in value to £888,361: a fact which will, doubtless, arrest the attention of all engaged in the woollen manufactures of England.

There is a class of political economists and others in England who are constantly declaiming against the expense and heavy encumbrance of the Colonies to the mother country. Without, however, adverting to the glorious results upon the trade of England, arising from the more extended colonization which has taken place in the British North American Provinces, in the Australasian Colonies, and elsewhere, I would respectfully commend to the attention of the reader the above statement of the trade from only the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, as triumphantly showing that the £50,000 originally expended in founding the small Settlement in Albany, must have been already repaid many times over to Great Britain, in the original *cost of producing*, and all the *incidental British taxation*, on the vast amount of manufactures which is constantly absorbed by this ever-extending market, first created by the settlers of 1820; while all interested in the great woollen manufactures of the United Kingdom must perceive that the rapidly increasing production

of the raw material for this valuable branch of English industry, must be of the greatest importance to a large portion of the manufacturing and commercial community of the British nation. When it is remembered that, before the arrival of the British settlers, *there was no trade at all* between Algoa Bay and England, and only an occasional visit of a small vessel coast-wise from Table Bay; although a considerable portion of the Eastern Province had been partially settled by the Dutch Colonists for forty or fifty years previously,—it will not be necessary, after calling attention to the above statement concerning the commerce of the Province, to write another sentence on the steady and large increase in material prosperity which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, has resulted from the formation of the British Colony in this part of South Eastern Africa.



## CHAPTER V.

### COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE MISSION.

FORMATION of Congregation and religious Society at Salem—Discomfort of temporary Place of Worship—Infested with dangerous Reptiles—Christian Ordinances—Baptists—Episcopalians—Anti-sectarian Spirit of Wesleyan Methodism—My Visits to other Parts of the District—Difficulties of Itinerancy in an infant Colony—Kind Reception by the Settlers—Local Preachers—Late Mr. Pike—First Places of Worship—Chapels built—Religious Destitution of the Settlers—Meeting convened at Salem—Its important Results—My first Visit to Graham's Town—Messrs. Price and Lucas—Preach in the Barracks—Methodism in the Army—Progress in Graham's Town—Erection of the first Wesleyan Chapel—Difficulty in raising pecuniary Means—General View of my Work at this Time—Foundation of first Chapel in Salem—Methods of building substantial Clay Walls—Full Occupation—Reading and Study—Names of Local Preachers on the first Circuit Plan—Application for additional Missionary—Disappointment—Visit Somerset (East) and Graaff Reinett—Failure of first Attempt to establish a Wesleyan Mission in the Bechuana Country—Two additional Missionaries in Albany—Dedication of the Chapels at Graham's Town and Salem—State of the Mission and People at this Period—Desirous of commencing a Mission in Kaffraria—Rev. William Threlfall—Claims of Colonists on the Sympathy and Labours of Missionaries—Constitution of Wesleyan Missionary Society—Beneficial Results to the Heathen of Missionary Labour in the Colonies—Mr. Threlfall's Departure and subsequent History—Graham's Town Chapel enlarged—My removal to Kaffraria—Continued Progress of the Mission in Albany—My Return to the Station at Graham's Town—Successive Reinforcements of Missionaries—Rev. Messrs. Palmer, Boyce, Cameron, J. Edwards, and W. J. Davis—Revival at Graham's Town—New Chapel needed and erected—Obtain leave to visit England—Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury—State of the Mission in Albany on my Departure in 1833.

HAVING endeavoured to place before the reader a general view of the history and progress of the British

Settlement which, first formed in Albany in 1820, has gradually extended its population and its influence throughout the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, I will now proceed with the narrative of my mission among these early British settlers; and this will naturally bring out some account of the religious and educational establishments which have grown up in various parts of the Eastern Province, since the time when the British Colony was founded.

My first care, on our arrival at Salem, was to establish religious ordinances for the benefit of the settlers who were under my special pastoral oversight. The rude structure originally erected by a Dutch farmer, who had removed to another farm granted to him by the Government, was used, as already stated, for various purposes for the common benefit of the people, and it served very well as a temporary chapel. For lack of a pulpit, I was accustomed to stand on a small box; and a writing desk, placed on the top of an American flour barrel, behind which I stood, formed the resting-place for the Bible and other books used in public worship. The people soon provided themselves with stools or benches; and in the course of a few weeks, the congregation had been regularly formed.

The place of worship constituted as great a contrast as could be well conceived to Great Queen Street Chapel, and other chapels in London, where most of the people had been accustomed to attend Divine service. Its earthen floor and unceiled roof, thatched with reeds, and open at the ridge-poles,—its reed and mud-plastered walls, through which several holes were opened to let in light and air,—and its dimensions, say sixty feet by twelve or thirteen feet, brought painfully to the minds

of the people the greatly altered circumstances under which they now offered their prayers and praises to the God of heaven. There was another source of discomfort, and indeed of some danger, connected with this temporary place of worship. The mice and rats had found a home in and around it, and this proved an attraction to snakes and other reptiles. On one occasion I was standing in a Class Meeting, giving the quarterly tickets; and while I was speaking to one of the members, another jumped up, and said in alarm, "O, Sir, there is a *puff adder* between your feet!" Looking down, I saw that the creature—one of the most deadly of the South African snakes—was indeed lying on the ground close to my feet. I quietly stepped aside, while some of the people with a stick attacked and destroyed the dangerous reptile, and we resumed our meeting, which was not concluded without praise offered to our Heavenly Father, by whose gracious providence I had been preserved from the "serpent's bite."

Notwithstanding the discomforts of the place, a considerable portion of the people speedily began to attend morning and evening service on the Lord's day, and many of them likewise attended the week-night services which were also commenced for Prayer-meetings and preaching the word. The more private means of grace established among the Methodists for the promotion of personal piety and religious communion were also soon commenced. Several individuals of consistent piety, and possessing intelligent minds, were appointed as Class Leaders; the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were duly and regularly celebrated; and all the usual means and appliances, enjoyed by the members of the Methodist Society in England



for their spiritual benefit, were thus provided for the people of my charge. A few families were Baptists, and they established religious services for themselves, which were efficiently conducted by Mr. W. Miller, one of their own number, who, although not having enjoyed the advantage of early education, was nevertheless a person of strong sense and a ready speaker. He was a good man, and for many years was the centre of union and the chief religious instructor of the Baptist denomination in the Colony. A portion of the people were Episcopalians, and they were pleased to find that at the forenoon service on Sundays I regularly read the liturgical service of the Church of England, as abridged under the direction of the Rev. John Wesley.

In my public ministrations, I avoided as much as possible all religious controversy,—feeling that, as many attended who had not been trained in Methodist views, it would for various reasons be best, without compromising my own principles, to confine my sermons chiefly to a range of topics at once experimental and practical,—in a word, to the great and, by all evangelical Christians, admitted essentials of religious truth. It was soon apparent that this was the right course; for many who had been early trained in connexion with other religious bodies in England, whether as Churchmen or Dissenters, thus found nothing repulsive in my ministry, and therefore became my regular hearers. I always considered that Wesleyan Methodism, when rightly understood and properly administered, is “anti-sectarian and of a catholic spirit;” hence I readily admitted to the communion of the Lord’s table such persons of other denominations as exhibited suitable moral and religious qualities; and a portion of these, in



the absence of Ministers of their own denominations, used to avail themselves of the privilege of our "open," although not indiscriminate, communion.

Having thus established Christian ordinances at Salem, I soon became very desirous of visiting the other parties of settlers scattered in various localities of the district, for the purpose of ascertaining their religious state and condition. In those days this was an undertaking of no small difficulty. There was at the time no map of the district, showing the relative positions of the various settlements; and, excepting the principal line of road by which the settlers had reached the country from Algoa Bay, there were no roads leading to their several locations. I could only obtain very vague information from some Hottentots, who told me to travel in the direction of certain distant hills, and that I should find settlers' "tents," to the right or left, as the case happened to be. On these early journeys, of course, I frequently missed my way, and was at times benighted in the woods, which at that period were infested with various kinds of ferocious animals. I could not always obtain a horse, and hence I had frequently to walk over considerable distances through rugged districts, upon unformed paths, and not seldom having to wade through the unbridged streams that intersect the district. Indeed, several years subsequently to this period, my missionary colleagues, before they became familiar with the country, often missed their way; and occasionally it happened that a Missionary had to solace himself at night in the midst of a bush, by seeking such security and repose as could be obtained from climbing a tree and seating himself in its branches, to await the return of day.

At the commencement I frequently slept on the ground in the tents of the settlers, or, on subsequent visits, in their unfinished huts; where, as I wrapped myself in such bedding as could be procured for the night, there were neither doors to bar out burglars, nor windows to keep out the cold air, nor, indeed, in many cases, so much of a covered roof as prevented an extensive view directly over head of a large portion of the sky, tempting one to scan such constellations of the beautiful stars—and the stars do shine out beautifully in that clear atmosphere—as passed the field of vision. The reader, however, must not suppose that I made any considerable progress in astronomical studies under these (favourable?) circumstances: the truth is, I was generally so fatigued with my journeys, and the duties which I had to perform, that, regardless of comfort or discomfort, a deep sleep soon closed all meditations; but it re-invigorated me for the work of the following day. During this period of my missionary career, I often realized, in more respects than one, the exceeding truth of the maxim, “The rest of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much.” I soon began, however, to reap a good reward for these toilsome journeys. I visited in rotation nearly all the principal settlements; and preached to as many as I could assemble at the various places which presented the most likely points for forming congregations. Everywhere I was received by the English settlers with great kindness and even gratitude. They felt thankful to the man, previously wholly unknown to them, who had come to them in their rude and hardly-formed homes in the wilderness, to preach among them the “glorious Gospel of the blessed God.”

In some of the locations I found several who had been Methodists in England, and a few of whom had wisely brought with them their proper credentials as such. These individuals, among whom there were two or three Local Preachers, became valuable assistants, and greatly aided me in establishing regular opportunities for public worship in the more central portions of the locations. One of these zealous Local Preachers was the late Mr. Pike. He came with what was called the "Nottingham party." The arrangements with Government, for sending out this party of about fifty families, were conducted by an agent appointed under the auspices of the Duke of Newcastle, who had generously aided some of them in emigrating to the Cape, with the view of improving their circumstances. At a meeting of these settlers before they left England, a Clergyman very properly recommended to the head of the party that on Sundays prayers, and occasionally a sermon, should be read for the benefit of the people. But a service conducted by an irreligious person was not likely to be conducive to much edification. A young man imbued with religious feeling, therefore, ventured to inquire whether he might be permitted to conduct religious services with such as were disposed to unite with him. The mere inquiry was sufficient to arouse the spirit of bigotry. On close examination, he was induced honestly to avow, that he was a "Methodist;" and he was at once informed he could not be permitted to proceed with the settlers to South Africa. However, there were others whose names had been included in the list of accepted persons, who had been accustomed to attend the Methodist preaching; but they kept their counsel as to their religious predilections.



Among these was Mr. Pike, who, being a devout man, and having occasionally preached or exhorted in the villages near his residence, felt constrained, soon after the vessel sailed from England, "to speak and to teach" among his fellow emigrants "the things concerning the kingdom of God." The appointed "head" of the party, and others like-minded, persecuted this good man for his attempts to promote a spirit of piety among the settlers; and perhaps the more bitterly, because the great pains taken to shut out Methodists from any connexion with this body of settlers had thus been rendered utterly futile. In the course of events, the nominal head of the party died at Algoa Bay, and thus never reached the place of location, which the people, from a becoming feeling of gratitude to the Duke of Newcastle, called "Clumber." The other persecutors of Mr. Pike were successively removed by death in a very remarkable manner; and as there was no longer any "let or hindrance," he commenced regular religious services in a wood close to his tent. After he had erected his first rude dwelling, he opened it for worship. His simple piety and manifest godly sincerity won for him the love of his fellow settlers; and they actually elected him as the nominal head of the party, and he became the friend and counsellor of the people. By the aid of his influence, and the co-operation of the comparatively large congregation which speedily grew up at this place, we were enabled to erect a suitable chapel, which stands on a beautiful natural mount, in a most picturesque valley, and, being centrally situated, has long been one of our best attended places of worship. This excellent man died many years ago; and his remains lie interred in the burial ground attached to



the chapel, to the erection of which his piety and zeal contributed so greatly.

On my earliest visits to the various locations, we worshipped God under the shade of the spreading trees, or shelter of the rocks, whenever the company was too large to find room in the settler's tent or hut. Gradually the people built more or less commodious dwellings for themselves, as described in a previous chapter; and in several places they erected buildings of similar materials for the purposes of public worship. There was very little money among them in those days; hence the original chapels, which served their purpose very well for a time, were generally erected by the joint labour of their own hands. As the settlers rose to circumstances of greater comfort, and built more substantial dwellings for themselves, they began to feel that it was not seemly for them "to dwell in ceiled houses," while "God's house" was comparatively a "waste;" hence they provided means, "and went up to the mountain, and brought wood to build the house;" for they believed that which is written to be applicable to *every* house of prayer where God's word is truly preached, and His holy sacraments are rightly and duly administered: "I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord." The result was, that in course of years the Methodist settlers, and those who wished to worship with them, erected, at considerable cost and labour, a number of substantial chapels in various parts of the settlement; which, being in localities distant from the towns, formed the only places of worship to which the scattered people could resort for the public service of God. They were generally well placed in elevated and picturesque spots; and many of the settlers learned to

say, with feelings of true devotion, concerning these humble temples of God's grace,—

“O happy souls that pray  
Where God delights to hear!  
O happy men that pay  
Their constant service there!  
They praise Thee still; and happy they  
Who love the way to Sion's hill!”

Chapels of this class were erected by the settlers at Clumber, (Nottingham party,) Green Fountain, Ebenezer, (James party,) Traape's Valley, Bathurst, Port Frances, Reed Fountain, Collingham, Manley's Flat, Seven Fountains. All these places of worship, situated in various parts of the District of Lower Albany, were well attended during the earlier period of the Settlement; but the gradual migration of the population to other portions of the Eastern Province has rendered some of them, for the present, unnecessary; and public worship is now only continued in those chapels that are in the most central localities with reference to the existing diminished population of that part of Albany.

It soon became apparent to me, that unless the Methodist Mission could be made to bear upon the European population, consisting of the military in Graham's Town and the out-posts, and the great body of the English settlers, they were likely to remain almost entirely without the means of religious instruction and consolation, in the wild and desolate region in which, by the providence of God, their lot was cast. There was only one Clergyman (the Rev. Mr. Boardman) connected with any of the parties of settlers; and he did not feel himself called upon to itinerate so as to

provide for the regular religious instruction of those who were not included amongst the people (Wilson's party) whom he regarded as his special charge. The troops, consisting of English and natives, had no Chaplain. The London Missionary Society, indeed, had a few years before established a Missionary Station (Theopolis) in the district; but this was for the exclusive benefit of its Hottentot residents; and as that Society, pursuing what I must ever regard as a very mistaken course of action for any Missionary Society having Missions in our Colonies, did not allow its Missionaries to devote any systematic labours for the benefit of European colonists,—the Missionaries at Theopolis did not consider themselves to be at liberty to attempt the formation of congregations among the settlers. Hence it became evident, that unless I made great efforts to extend the benefits of the Wesleyan Mission to the white population,—at that time the most neglected people in the Colony,—there was no hope that their case would receive speedy attention from any other quarter. I therefore worked hard, and I was constantly either in the saddle, or walking on foot, to visit the various parts of my extended sphere of labour.

In order to give greater solidity and effect to the labours of the Methodists, after I had personally visited all I could find, I arranged for a general meeting to be held at Salem, so as to bring the people into acquaintance with each other, and to produce among them a sympathy of feeling, and unity of action; hoping that, by a proper organization, their efforts in various ways, and in all parts of the settlement, might, under the Divine blessing, tell with greater and more permanent



effect, than could otherwise be expected. The church arrangements of the Methodist system afford peculiar advantages for missionary action, especially among the scattered population of the Colonies; and although the obstacles were neither few nor small in bringing this system into full operation, yet I hoped, by introducing the most earnest of the people to each other, to unite them as one faithful band of "witnesses" for God, each acting, in his own neighbourhood, for the spiritual welfare of those living within reach. The following extract from my Journal shows the nature and extent of my labours at this period. The entry under date January 2nd, 1821, was made when we had been about six months in the country, and shows that the plan adopted for bringing the most active and intelligent of the people together was productive of resolves which led, in due season, to important practical results.

"Christmas Day, 1820.—Held a Prayer-meeting at five o'clock this morning. The power of God was present. Preached at ten: after dinner, rode to Graham's Town, completely wet on the way by a heavy rain: preached in the evening at Mr. Lucas's, to about twenty persons, in English; and immediately after, at their own request, to about the same number of Hottentots, in Dutch. One of them prayed after my sermon, and it affected me to my very soul to hear him cry out with peculiar earnestness, '*O Heere, zend leeraar voor ons arme Heidenen!*' 'O Lord, send a teacher for us poor Heathen!' meaning one who should reside among them, and give them instruction regularly. I am told that the number of Hottentots in the army stationed here, including their wives and children, and those who live as servants in the town, is scarcely less than *one*



*thousand souls!* These are all as sheep without a shepherd, and most of them have come from some of the various Missionary establishments; but alas! in Graham's Town there is *no Minister*, not even for the Europeans; and both classes, generally speaking, (what marvel?) are sunk very low in drunkenness, lewdness, and many other deadly sins.

"January 2nd, 1821.—According to appointment, a wagon-load of our friends arrived from various settlements, and this evening we held a meeting for the purpose of forming a Sunday School Society, for promoting the establishment of Sunday Schools throughout the whole District of Albany. Many judicious and pious remarks were made on the subject by various friends; and so strong a feeling was excited in favour of those institutions, as will, I doubt not, issue in an extensive establishment of a system of education most admirably adapted to the circumstances of the rising generation in an infant colony. It appeared from the reports, that three schools already exist: one at Salem, one at Green Fountain, and one at Somerset Place, which contain, in all, one hundred and thirty-six scholars; of whom six are Dutch, ten Hottentots, and the rest children of the English settlers.

"3rd.—This day being appointed for our Quarterly Meeting, I preached at nine; immediately after which we held a Love-feast: a more interesting and affecting detail of Christian experience I never heard given on any occasion. After dinner, the temporal business of the Circuit was transacted by the Leaders, Stewards, &c. It appeared that there was a small increase in the Society, which now amounts to one hundred and fifteen members. It was determined to build a small chapel at

New Bristol immediately, and also at Graham's Town and Green Fountain, as soon as the way appears open. I met the Local Preachers, of whom there are ten, including those admitted on trial. They are full of zeal; and for sense and piety are not, I am persuaded, inferior to those of the greater part of our country Circuits in England. It was intended for three of them to have addressed us in the evening; but Mr. Barker, of Bethelsdorp, arriving at tea-time, on his return from Theopolis, where he had been to see Mr. Ullbright, who is at the point of death, I engaged him to preach; and he delivered a sensible and useful sermon before the largest congregation of Europeans ever seen before in the District of Albany. After sermon, I renewed the covenant, and administered the sacrament to upwards of eighty persons, who remained together for that purpose. Through the whole of these meetings, an extraordinary degree of seriousness, spirituality, and fervour was evident; and all agreed in opinion, that these were presages of good days to come. Even so, LORD JESUS!

"I ride every other week upwards of one hundred and thirty miles, and must in future regularly preach eight times during my round, independent of my Sabbath labours at home, and occasional labours in other places; but, after all, I cannot go to many who are saying, 'Come and help us.' I should desire occasionally to go to the frontier, the Keiskamma, where there are upwards of a thousand British soldiers without any Chaplain; and also to visit Brintjes Hootge, the inland boundary of the district, where there is a considerable population of Dutch and Hottentots without a Minister. I am anxious to visit Somerset, where I hear a number

of people are collected together, and to preach regularly on the Sabbath at Graham's Town, and some other places; but I can only be at one place at a time. Allow me then to entreat you, if you have not yet done it, to send a zealous, lively Missionary to my assistance: there is work for more than another Missionary in the District, and I hope we should be able to help considerably in supporting him."

My earliest visit to Graham's Town, destined to be the future metropolis of the Eastern Province, was made in the month of August, 1820. I have already described its aspect at this time. It was chiefly a military station, and head-quarters of the troops, which the Kaffirs had boldly attacked in the previous year, and—by a clever surprise, conducted by overwhelming numbers, with great bravery, storming the *cannon*, hastily run out against them—very nearly secured a triumph over the small detachment of troops that were on the spot at the moment to resist them. The arrival of the British settlers soon gave an impetus to the place, and, as already stated, its population began to increase. Several mechanics and others from Salem, and various parts of the settlement, sought and found employment in this place, and, being added to the military, formed an aggregate population that greatly needed religious ordinances, while, as stated in the above extract from my Journal, there was neither church nor chapel, nor a resident Minister of any denomination. I, therefore, at once resolved to put Graham's Town on my Circuit Plan, as a place to be visited by myself and the Local Preachers, as frequently as possible.

A reference is made, in the above extract from my



Journal, to my having preached at the house of Mr. Lucas on Christmas day, 1820. I had already preached in his house several times before. He was a Sergeant-Major in the Cape Corps Cavalry; and, together with a comrade, Sergeant-Major Price, of the same regiment, received me on all my earliest visits to Graham's Town with the heartiest welcome and greatest kindness. There is reason to believe that some officers and soldiers of the celebrated Roman legion which held possession of Great Britain for so long a period during the first centuries of the Christian era, were greatly instrumental in the introduction of Christianity among the ancient Britons, long before the time when Augustine reached these shores as a Missionary from Rome to the Saxon race, then settled in Kent. It is surprising how frequently evidence may be traced in ecclesiastical history of the devotion and zeal of Christian soldiers. There have been at all times, in a profession not usually regarded as favourable to piety, "Centurions" who have feared God and worked righteousness; and "devout soldiers," who have gladly attended upon Ministers to receive religious instruction and consolation, and to aid in the propagation of the truth.

It has already been shown, in a previous chapter, that it was owing to the representations of a considerable number of Methodist soldiers in the army, serving at the Cape, that the first Methodist Missionary was sent to Southern Africa; and the two excellent men whose names I have recorded above, were themselves of that religious Society when stationed near Cape Town. They were both converted, and became decidedly religious men, under the preaching of Sergeant Kendrick, of the Twenty-first Light Dragoons, to whom refer-



ence has already been made. When removed to the frontier on military service, they often mourned their entire separation from all the public means; but they maintained their character as good men and smart soldiers. On my first visiting them at the East Barracks, they were overjoyed to receive a Methodist Missionary. Arrangements were immediately made for establishing preaching in one of their rooms in the barracks; and as Sergeant-Major Lucas, being a married man, was already building himself a house outside the walls of the garrison, he took care to have one large room, in which a considerable number of persons could assemble to hear the Gospel preached. These first services were soon attended by as many as could find accommodation; and it was known that certain commissioned officers, being either ashamed to enter a Methodist Meeting, or, perhaps, afraid lest sitting in a Sergeant-Major's quarters, amongst a mixed concourse of private soldiers and civilians, might be deemed altogether incompatible with military regulations, used to indulge their curiosity, or seek religious edification, by listening to the preacher while standing outside near the door or windows. Thus was Methodism, and through its means "earnest Christianity," indebted for its introduction into Graham's Town, under hopeful circumstances, to the piety and zeal of these religious soldiers. In how many other places, both at home and abroad, have the character and efforts of the same class of men contributed greatly to advance the interests of religion! I therefore rejoice in the deep interest which has latterly been awakened amongst the Methodist public in England on behalf of the religious interests of the army. As a professedly Christian people, we have done no

more than our duty in the erection of the handsome church at Aldershot, and the appointment of a resident Chaplain at that place. These arrangements, it is hoped, will be followed by more systematic efforts on the part of Wesleyan Ministers, in all the garrisons of the empire, for the promotion of the moral and spiritual benefit of the army. We owe this as a debt for the many benefits conferred on Methodism and its Missions by pious officers and soldiers in all parts of the world, from the days of John Haime, who, with other Methodist soldiers, was present at the memorable battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and was afterwards, for many years, a man of mark among the early Methodist Preachers ;—of Captain Webb, who, when in active service, was one of the earliest and most conspicuous instruments in the introduction of Methodism into what were at that time the British Provinces of America, which has issued in the formation of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, the largest “voluntary” and united Church that the world has yet seen ;—and of many others, who might be named, down to the present times. There exist abundant materials for a most interesting and instructive volume, which might be written under the title of “Methodism in the Army ;” and I hope that some competent hand may be induced to undertake this labour of love. But I must leave this topic,—not, however, without offering my humble prayer that these renewed and extended efforts for the spiritual welfare of our brave soldiers may be greatly honoured and prospered by the blessing of the Divine Master !

In the course of a few months it was found that the room in Mr. Lucas’s house was too small to admit the

increasing numbers who wished to attend the services; and the East Barracks being a mile distant from the town, its locality was inconvenient for the storekeepers, tradespeople, and their families, who wished to attend. I therefore hired a large room in the High Street, which had been used as a mess-room by the officers of the Royal African Corps, now about to be disbanded. Here we continued to worship with overflowing congregations for some months longer. The building was at length sold, and the congregation could then only obtain accommodation for a time in a carpenter's shop, belonging to one of our people on Settlers' Hill. This was, however, so small and inconvenient, that we were glad, after a time, to obtain the use, for Sunday services, of a good-sized building which had been erected to accommodate a so-called Odd Fellows' Lodge. Meantime, I had felt constrained to take measures for the erection of a chapel. I memorialized the Government for the grant of a piece of ground on which to build a place of worship; but although my application had the approval of the deputy Landdrost or Magistrate of the district, so many delays and difficulties were raised by the chief functionaries at Cape Town, that I resolved to cut the matter short, by purchasing a plot of ground for the purpose, in the best place which at the time I could find for sale; for there were not then many willing to sell who were able to give a legal title to their property.

The following extract from my Journal, dated exactly one year after our arrival at Algoa Bay, explains my views and feelings at this period concerning the erection of our first chapel in Graham's Town. The first portion of the extract, in reviewing the state of affairs in



the Settlement, contains both light and shade, and expresses my joys and griefs, my hopes and fears, as a Minister of the Gospel.

“This is the anniversary of our landing at Algoa Bay. The review fills me with astonishment. Within one year desert and solitary places have been peopled by a multitude of men; to make room for whom, even the beasts of the field have very evidently retreated from their ancient haunts; houses have arisen, and villages sprung into existence, as if by magic; hundreds of acres of land, which had hitherto lain untilled, have been disturbed by the plough, and the clods torn to pieces by the harrow; but what is better than all, many of those hills and dales, which echoed with no other music than the dreary screams of the jackal, the harsh croaking of the frog, or the dissonant notes of the raven, now resound with the praises of the Saviour. But while I view these things with satisfaction and delight, I must confess those feelings are mingled with regret and sorrow, that so little actual spiritual good has been done. The leaven of preaching, Prayer-meetings, and Sunday Schools has been introduced among a considerable number of the settlers; but the trials, cares, and vicissitudes which always attend the first adventurers in a new Colony, have hitherto counteracted its influence, and too generally produced worldly-mindedness, violation of the Sabbath, and an awful disrelish for the solemnities of religion. While, however, these circumstances tend to humble me in the dust, as having been so far unsuccessful, they are at the same time loud calls upon me for increased diligence; and I trust I can say, I am resolved to spend, and be spent, in the service of my God, and in promoting



the spiritual benefit of all to whom I can obtain access.

"A strong sense of duty has urged me to visit other settlements, and Graham's Town, over and above what are considered as the demands of regular performance of duty at my proper Station. I am aware that if a chapel is built, service must be held on the Lord's day; but I am living in hopes of seeing another Missionary shortly, by whose assistance this may be effected. Indeed, such is the desire of the people for a chapel and a Missionary, that I have, as it were, been compelled to open a subscription for that purpose, which already amounts to a handsome sum for an African village; and I have no doubt of raising at least one half, if not three fourths, of the money necessary to build a convenient and decent place of worship; the rest, I have reason to believe, may be borrowed. Should we succeed, (and why should we not?) in forming a chain of Mission Stations among the numerous heathen nations who inhabit the eastern coast of this continent, then the importance of a good Mission establishment in this District will be fully acknowledged.

"I trust, if you have not yet sent me help, you will consider these circumstances, as well as that we are about shortly to build a chapel in Graham's Town, the largest town in the district, a place where there is *no* place of worship and *no* Minister; and that there are several thousands of souls who, as far as I can see at present, must live without the means of grace, unless you send them one of those many soldiers of the cross, who are only waiting their destination from you."

The erection of our first Chapel in Graham's Town, although a plain call of duty, involved me in no small

perplexity. In a country where there are many "well-wishers," but few having means to render much aid in such a work, he who commences chapel-building must needs take considerable responsibility upon himself. As the chapel was to be for the use of an English congregation, I knew the Missionary Society would not be likely, if requested, to grant any sum in aid of the undertaking. Nothing remained but that I must beg from all who were willing to give. A considerable number of persons subscribed small sums, as much, indeed, as generally they were at that time able to contribute; for money was scarce, and the country was then very poor. The building and land cost about £500, and first and last, with continuous effort, I was enabled to raise about one half the money; and, with no small difficulty, the remainder was borrowed at interest, till the income from pew-rents and collections should in time pay off the debt. When I laid the foundation-stone, with prayers and tears, in the midst of some fifty or sixty persons, I had but half-a-crown in my pocket, and only a number of promises of support, which were yet to be realized. But it was God's cause, and was committed to His gracious Providence, in humble trust that the zealous efforts we intended to make in raising the requisite means, would be crowned with success. While the building progressed, I was often in great straits to find money to meet the just demands of the builders. I frequently had to pay the cost of materials out of my own small allowances, and thus deprive myself and family, for a time, of many of what are called the necessities of life. And here I rejoice to have an opportunity of recording, with grateful remembrance, the temporary assistance I occasionally received

in the extremity of my difficulties from the late Adjutant Macdonald and his wife; for when I could do no more, they lent or procured for me temporary loans of small sums, which helped me over these first difficulties. Messrs. Lucas, Price, and Macdonald, all belonged to the army: the last-named, with his wife, had received spiritual benefit from our ministrations, and joined our Church in Graham's Town. They were all liberal contributors to this first chapel. All of them have departed this life, and I trust have long ago discovered that the Saviour's promise, while it is generally fulfilled even in the present time, is realized in its utmost extent in that happy world to which, through His merits, they have been introduced: "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in My name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward."

I trust that this record of my early difficulties in chapel-building will not be cited by any as a justification of rash speculations of that kind. The case was peculiar. In the *same* circumstances I know not that I should another time pursue a different course: but if any will plead this case as a precedent to warrant rash and inconsiderate plunging into pecuniary embarrassments in the erection of chapels, where the call is less clear, and the ultimate prospect of success is much more doubtful, I would remind such persons that the result proved that all was right in this instance. No permanent embarrassment was the result. We have always met our engagements; and although we subsequently built some much larger and more costly chapels, for which, at times, we had to borrow thousands of pounds, yet we were enabled to obtain these large loans with far greater ease and facility than sums of ten or twenty pounds



were at first borrowed. It is to me a great satisfaction to reflect that in all our chapel affairs connected with that country, no one has ever lost any money; nor has any person ever been compelled to pay any deficiency to meet obligations on account of our chapels, beyond such sums as have been from time to time voluntarily and cheerfully contributed by a liberal people.

The foundation stone of the first Wesleyan chapel in Graham's Town, referred to above, was laid on December 5th, 1821. The following entries in my Journal will best state my feelings and views at that time concerning this event.

"October 16th, 1821.—At length I have succeeded in purchasing an eligible plot of ground, for the erection of a chapel at Graham's Town. It has brought upon my mind a burden which I would gladly have avoided; but the step has not been taken without much prayer and due respect to the advice of the town clerk of Ephesus, 'Do nothing rashly.'

"December 5th.—This morning I had the satisfaction of laying the foundation-stone of the new chapel at Graham's Town. Prayer was offered to God for His blessing. Although Graham's Town has had a considerable population, English, Dutch, and Hottentot, for some time, yet I found on my arrival no place of worship in it whatever, nor any public recognition of the being of God. Of course morals were at a standard extremely low. Some alteration for the better has at length taken place. We have now a regular and decent congregation; and I trust, if God enable us to lay on the top-stone of the new chapel, much more good will be done; and especially when a Missionary shall arrive to take up his abode in the town."



An extract from a letter, written to the Missionary Committee at this time, gives a general view of the nature of my occupations, and a *hint* of some of the personal inconveniences which the circumstances of the country at that time rendered unavoidable.

“October 12th, 1821.—My engagements are so multifarious, that I am almost worn down. Owing to the scattered state of the population, my rides are very long; and the sun is sometimes very oppressive. Being alone, I have not time to recruit before I set off on another journey; I am only at home now six days out of fourteen. Besides my regular work, my hands are now full with the concerns of two chapels: one (already commenced) at Salem; the other (which will commence building in two or three weeks) at Graham’s Town. As we have not active persons with whom these matters can be left, I am obliged to see after all myself; in addition to all which, I am working with my hands, when at home, at our dwelling-house: but I trust, through Divine assistance, all these matters will be accomplished in a few months; only I hope we shall not be disappointed in receiving a Missionary from England in a short time, as Graham’s Town must be regularly supplied. The inhabitants have subscribed liberally to the chapel: the Landdrost has put his name on my subscription list; and other gentlemen are equally favourable. I preach to the Hottentots in Graham’s Town regularly; we had six of them at a Class-Meeting last week. You would have been delighted to see the tears rolling down their cheeks, and to hear them speak their experience, and express their thankfulness for the good word of God.

“Referring to the affairs of the settlers, it gives me

great pleasure to inform you that they are still strangers to many of those miseries which were reasonably anticipated. The kindness of the Government continues to display itself, in a most abundant attention to their various wants. It is true, we have all suffered considerably in consequence of the failure of the last harvest: it was so general a failure in the Colony, that our dependence was almost entirely on foreign supplies; for the old Dutch colonists never keep a stock of corn by them as a reserve for an emergency. The consequence has been, that we have suffered considerable privation, as it regards bread and flour. My own family have, for the last ten months, had a very scanty supply; but, thank God, we have all had plenty of meat and milk,—as much of it as any of the settlers could possibly consume,—nay, even to spare; so that we have had better supplies than the first colonists of New South Wales, who, on the failure of some of their early harvests, had not the resource of hundreds of oxen, and thousands, yea, ten thousands, of sheep. I am, however, sorry to have to inform you, that there are evident appearances, in the standing corn, of a blight similar to that of last year.

“Salem continues to be the most promising settlement in the whole district: this is admitted by all who have seen it. I am engaged, during the whole of the few days I am at home, in giving such advices as are necessary to the welfare of the people; working at my own house and garden, settling disputes, (which, as might be expected, frequently occur,) and preaching and teaching. I have not been without my difficulties. A few individuals I have found to be obstinate and quarrelsome; and I have had some trouble with such,

on account of my endeavouring to keep as close as possible by the established rules of our Connexion ; but, to counterbalance this, the great majority are a respectful, peaceable, and loving people. I thank God, who has given me favour in the eyes of our rulers, which is of great advantage."

On New Year's Day, 1822, I laid the foundation-stone of a chapel at Salem. The congregation continued to worship in the old reed and pole house. But now we set about erecting a more substantial and commodious building. The people cut down some fine yellow-wood trees, that were growing in a part of their location ; where, also, they procured a sufficient supply of rushes for thatching : and thus, with great labour, a portion of the materials was collected. As very little money was at that time in the possession of the friends of this undertaking, and the mechanics were all employed in Graham's Town, it was resolved to erect the building in such a manner, that nearly all could aid by the work of their hands. The ground being suitable for the purpose, the walls, which were about two feet thick and very solid, were constructed of pounded earth, slightly sprinkled with water : the prepared clay, being shovelled, to the depth of a few inches, into a moveable wooden frame, which was about six feet long, and one foot in depth, was then beaten or rammed by an instrument like one of those used by paviours. When the frame was filled, and the clay had remained a short time therein, it acquired consistency, being bound together by a constant sprinkling of water, during the beating or ramming part of the process ; the frame was then removed further on the wall, to repeat the operation. The result was, that the walls were built in great



blocks of earth, instead of large blocks of stone. After a layer of earth had thus been carried all round the building, a day or two was suffered to pass before another was placed thereupon, and in that bright climate the action of the sun was sufficiently powerful to dry and harden the material. This building stood for about ten years ; and when it was necessary to remove it, for the purpose of erecting a more suitable chapel, the clay walls were found to be so strong, that they occasioned much more labour to take down, than would have been required had the walls been made of brick or stone.

Many settlers and Missionaries built houses, during the early period of the Settlement, on a plan somewhat similar to what is called "Devonshire cob," of which many cottages in the south-western parts of England are erected. The process of building is, however, somewhat different to that just described ; as, on this plan, the clay is well saturated with water, just as if bricks were intended to be formed thereof ; and it is then mixed with chopped straw or grass, and laid on in layers about six inches in depth all round the building, leaving it for some days, till all is thoroughly dried by the sun, and ready to receive another layer, when the operation is repeated till the walls are raised to the required height. I have entered thus into detail because it is possible that this book may be read by some future Missionary or settler, who may be placed in similar circumstances ; and when a *substantial* building is required, where no masons or bricklayers are to be had, or where their wages would exceed the available means, I can recommend walls, built on either of the above principles, as likely to meet the necessities of the case ; since they require no



mechanical skill, beyond taking care to keep the walls upright, while in process of erection.

Having commenced building the chapels at Graham's Town and Salem, and being still engaged in my regular itinerating visits to various parts of the Settlement, I was very fully occupied. I was, however, at that time a very young man; and my abundant horse exercise, and other out-door employments, probably tended to give vigour to my constitution, which was originally not very strong. I had very little time or opportunity for reading or study; and in a land where there were no booksellers, the opportunities of adding to my stock of books, at this period, were few and far between. It may be, however, that this necessity drove me to study more closely than I otherwise might have done, the small collection of standard works on theology and history which I possessed. Most of my sermons were studied on horseback, and, however defective in both matter and style, yet as they were generally adapted to the religious and varied circumstances of the people, in the absence of a better furnished and more competent Ministry, they were usually well received. All classes of the community were accustomed to attend the services, and I had reason to feel grateful that the great Head of the Church was pleased to use me as an instrument for the conversion of sinners and the confirmation of the souls of His saints. But it was not possible that I could give sufficient attention to the various places which required pastoral care.

The Local Preachers whose names I had introduced into the *first* Circuit Plan, were resident in various parts of the Settlement; viz., at Salem, Messrs. Oates and Roberts; at Smith's party, near the mouth of the

Kowie River, Mr. Richard Walker; at Wilson's party, Mr. J. Ayliff; at New Bristol location, Mr. Shepstone; and at Clumber, the Nottingham party, Mr. W. Pike. I only mention the names of such as still continue, or of those who were accredited Preachers at the time of their decease. Some of those who were admitted on the first Plan, had been accredited Local Preachers before they left England; others had only occasionally conducted Prayer-meetings, and delivered exhortations in workhouses, hospitals, and cottages; but in the moral destitution of the Settlement, I found them all work to do, in promoting the religious welfare of the people; and our small Societies and congregations were greatly indebted to the zealous and laborious efforts of these brethren, who helped me much in the Lord. At a subsequent period two of them, Messrs. Ayliff and Shepstone, were introduced into our regular Ministry, and have proved themselves eminently faithful and useful Missionaries among the heathen tribes of Southern Africa, while another of their number, Mr. Richard Walker, as a Catechist or Assistant Missionary, has rendered very valuable service for many years past on more than one of our Stations among the native tribes. From a variety of causes the original number of Local Preachers whose services could be rendered available was diminished at a very early period: hence I wrote with earnestness and frequency to the Missionary Committee, to send at least one Missionary to aid me in my work.

I was, however, grievously disappointed about this time. The Rev. Joseph Taylor had informed me by letter, that a Missionary had been directed to proceed from Cape Town to assist me in Albany; but very soon after I had been cheered with this intelligence, I learned by a letter

from Cape Town, that, previously to the arrival of these instructions, Mr. K., the Missionary referred to, had been sent off to the Bechuana Country, in company with Mr. Melville, a gentleman who was going to that region in the capacity of a government agent, and who had resigned a highly respectable and lucrative office in Cape Town, that he might go to the far interior, hoping thereby to promote the great work of Missions beyond the Orange River; and although the Rev. T. L. Hodgson had just arrived from England, yet I was informed that he had come out with a special appointment for Cape Town, and I must therefore wait some other favourable opportunity before I could obtain help in Albany. This was very trying, but Divine Providence soon relieved me from my difficulties, and sent me helpers for the work wherein I was engaged. The Missionary Committee, finding that I had been thus disappointed, promptly sent out for Albany the Rev. William Threlfall, a young man of deep piety and ardent missionary zeal, who reached Salem in May, 1822.

I had previously paid a visit to Somerset and Graaff Reinett; the former being about ninety, and the latter one hundred and seventy, miles north of Salem. I visited Somerset at the special invitation of R. Hart, Esq., who had been an officer in the Cape Regiment, but was now the superintendent of an extensive farming establishment conducted for the Colonial Government, with a view to raise supplies of grain and cattle for the troops on the frontier. After a few years the British settlers were in a position to contract for these supplies, and consequently this establishment was superseded, and the place became a town, the head of a district, and residence of its Local Magistrate and Civil



Commissioner. On this my first visit I was received with great kindness and hospitality by Mr. and Mrs. Hart, and was happy in the opportunity of preaching the Gospel to many who had long been deprived of the means of grace, including a considerable number of what were called "Prize Negroes,"—persons who had been found in the Portuguese slave vessels when captured by our cruisers on the coast. When this Government farm was broken up, these people were free to go where they pleased. Many of them ultimately settled in Graham's Town, where they subsequently formed an interesting part of one of our native congregations. Leaving Somerset, I proceeded through a wild-looking country, at that time having very few inhabitants, at least along the road, to Graaff Reinett, where I was received with much brotherly feeling and courtesy by the Rev. A. Faure, the resident Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, but now and for many years past the senior Minister of that Church in Cape Town. The main object of this journey was for observation, and to see what openings there were likely to be in that direction for extending our missionary operations when I should be reinforced by the arrival of other Missionaries. It did not appear to me that we should, at that period, be justified in attempting more in that direction, than visiting Somerset at regular intervals, should the arrival of additional Missionaries render it practicable. Graaff Reinett possessed in Mr. Faure an excellent Minister of the Gospel, who was assisted in the religious instruction of the slaves of the town by a person whom he employed for that purpose; but at Somerset, and in all the surrounding region, there was no Minister of any denomination.



The Missionary already mentioned, as having proceeded with Mr. Melville to the Bechuana country, reached Latakoo, the Station of the London Missionary Society, where the justly-honoured Mr. Moffatt had very recently established his residence. After remaining some time at this place, and making some journeys of observation in the neighbourhood, he was discouraged by unfavourable circumstances, and therefore failed to commence a Mission. The Rev. S. Broadbent, having proceeded by another route to join him, was seized with dangerous illness, and was obliged in consequence to return to Graaff Reinett, for medical advice and repose. On their arrival at this place, the two Missionaries consulted me; and while Mr. Broadbent was advised to remain and recruit his health, Mr. K., at my request, came to Albany, where he had been previously appointed to labour by the Missionary Secretaries in London. On his arrival at Salem we were comparatively strong. I requested him to take up his residence in Graham's Town, and Mr. Threlfall continued to reside with me. And we were now for some time in a position to carry on our missionary operations with vigour at Graham's Town, Salem, and all parts of Albany, including Somerset.

We all took part in the opening services of the first chapel at Graham's Town, which was dedicated to the service of God on Sunday, November 10th, 1822; and also at Salem, where the chapel was opened for worship, December 31st, 1822. A letter which I wrote about three months afterwards, will explain my views and feelings on the general affairs of the Mission at this period.

“SALEM, *March 29th*, 1823.—We are making some

small progress on this Circuit, chiefly in matters preparatory, and in securing a foundation for a permanent work in Albany. The Graham's Town chapel, which is a neat and substantial stone building, was opened on the 10th of November last. I preached in the morning; Mr. Kay in the afternoon, in Dutch; and Mr. Threlfall in the evening. Mr. Barker, the London Society's Missionary, assisted in the services, and preached on the next evening, (Monday,) on which day we held a Love-feast in the chapel, and had a good season. One thing that contributed to make it more than ordinarily interesting was, the presence of several of our Hottentot Society, who spoke with considerable propriety and feeling of the work of God in their souls. Mr. Barker, who favoured us with his presence on this occasion also, was requested to interpret, for the benefit of the English persons present, what was said by the Hottentots in Dutch. All, of every class, were much gratified and, I trust, edified on the occasion. For my own part I cannot describe what I felt while sitting in the pulpit, and beholding before me Europeans and Africans in a mixed group, formerly so rare a sight in this Colony,—hearing them tell, each in his own tongue, the wonderful dealings of God towards them; and this in a chapel which had cost me no common pains and perplexity in erecting, owing to a variety of circumstances, which I could neither foresee nor control. When I considered how God had blessed, in the short space of about two years, our small and obscure beginning in Graham's Town, I indeed 'thanked God, and took courage.' It was mentioned at the opening, as a motive for those present to give something more than on any common occasion, that this chapel is the first substantial

building ever erected for the worship of God in the whole of the important and rising District of Albany. I feel the more sincere gratitude to those friends who, by affording their pecuniary aid, enabled us to effect this important and new thing in Graham's Town. A few individuals, whose names I would mention, but that they love to do good in private, rendered us the most praiseworthy assistance. The chapel has been well attended ever since it was opened: all the pews are let, and more are erecting, to give additional accommodation to the persons not yet provided with seats. I hope much good will be done in that chapel to those who attend.

"We commenced a Sunday-school in Graham's Town immediately after the chapel was opened, in which there are about sixty scholars. We need very much a building for a school-house and chapel, for the Hottentots of Graham's Town, to be erected near the barracks. A great and good work might be done among them, if this were effected; but we cannot expect much without we have such a place. About five hundred rix-dollars have been subscribed, principally by the Hottentots themselves, towards this object; but we cannot enter upon it until we receive your reply to our request in the annual Minutes sent home two months ago, for a grant of fifty pounds to aid us in carrying into execution our plan.

"The Salem chapel was opened on the 31st of December, when brother Threlfall preached, and we held a Watch-night. On the 1st of January, Mr. Barker, of Theopolis, preached, and Mr. K. in the evening. Every one was affected with the consideration that a Christian congregation was now assembled, in a

commodious and substantial place of worship, where, less than three years ago, the silence of the desert was undisturbed by the exercise of Divine worship. I hope this chapel will prove a blessing to future generations. It has cost me a great deal of trouble, as I had personally to superintend the building in its progress; but the poor people have helped as far as their peculiar circumstances and poverty would allow. At one end of the building a school-room is partitioned off: we have fitted it up with desks, &c., in a convenient manner; and, through the medium of H. Rivers, Esq., our Landdrost, I have prevailed on the Governor to appoint Mr. Matthews (mentioned in a former letter) to be school-master to the settlers at Salem and its neighbourhood, with a salary from the Colonial Government, the only instance of the kind as yet in Albany. Thus our people will have the benefit of a free day-school, as well as Sunday-school, for their children.

“The settlers are still in general greatly depressed, in consequence of the failure of their successive crops: only one kind of wheat, called Bengal, has as yet succeeded; but that does very well, as do rye, barley, and oats. I have procured a quantity of the Bengal wheat for seed for our people, and I hope they will have better success this year. They are just beginning to plough. There has been, in many peculiar cases, very great distress among them; but when I think upon the accounts from Ireland, the distress among the settlers appears comparatively nothing. I speak generally; for I know, as hinted above, there have occurred some very distressing cases among the settlers. I have myself distributed aid to a considerable amount in a variety of such cases; which have arisen most frequently from accidental causes,



and things more immediately connected with an infant state of society."

The Mission in Albany now assumed a regular and settled form. The congregations steadily increased, and our prospects of usefulness were very pleasing. We felt, however, that although there was full work for two men, we were hardly justified in retaining three on the ground at that time, since very little could be expected from the people, to aid in defraying the cost of such a staff of Missionaries. I had been some time desirous of visiting Kaffraria, to see whether there was any opening for the establishment of a Mission among that numerous but heathen and barbarous race of people. I will narrate, in the second part of this work, the steps that were taken, and which ultimately led to the commencement of a Wesleyan Mission in that country, at the end of the year 1823. As, however, there were difficulties which it took some time to remove, before we could commence the Kaffir Mission, my junior colleague, Mr. Threlfall, became somewhat impatient at the delay. He was dissatisfied with having to spend his time and strength almost exclusively in preaching to European settlers, since he had volunteered for the foreign department of ministerial labour, with a view to preaching the Gospel among the Heathen. I laboured to convince him that he was wrong in the view he took of our work in Albany, which, in my opinion, could not fail to be a great means of enabling us, at no distant date, to enter upon the difficult enterprise in Kaffraria, with much greater facilities and prospects of ultimate success, from our having a considerable body of European Christians so near, who would be likely to sympathize with us, and in various ways to aid our labours. We did not entirely

agree in opinion on these points; but on all other subjects we were as one heart and soul. He was truly a holy and zealous young Minister; and notwithstanding his disappointed feelings in being obliged to labour amongst European colonists, instead of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen, which he strongly desired, I must bear my testimony here, as I have done in other publications, to the earnestness with which he strove to win souls. His labours among the settlers were brief, but "he was a burning and shining light." He was greatly loved and respected by them; and not a few attributed chiefly to his pulpit and pastoral efforts their being aroused to a sense of the importance and value of real religion.

Mr. Threlfall's views regarding the call of a Missionary in Africa, as being rather to labour among the Heathen than amongst professed Christians, had the entire sympathy, at that time, of the Rev. B. Shaw, who acted very much thereon in reference to the work at Cape Town, where the opportunities of gathering a considerable and influential English congregation were to some extent postponed in favour of efforts to collect a congregation of black and coloured people, to whom the Missionaries preached in the Dutch language. Perhaps, if I had not gone to South Africa as a Chaplain or Minister of a party of settlers, I might have adopted similar views; but however this may be, I am fully satisfied by our past experience, that wherever there is a British Colony in juxtaposition with heathen tribes or natives, it will be our wisdom to provide for the spiritual wants of the Colonists, while at the same time we ought not to neglect taking earnest measures for the conversion of the Heathen.

This view of the matter is in strict accordance with the original intentions of the founders of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as may be seen by the second article of its "Laws and Regulations," which declares its object to be to systematize and give full effect to the exertions of all "who are friends to the conversion of the heathen world, *and to the preaching of the Gospel generally in foreign lands.*" In point of fact, at the time when the Society was founded, the Methodist Missions had been in operation for many years, and already included several important Stations among British Colonists; while the formation of the Society, as declared in the same article, was for the purpose of promoting "the support and enlargement of the Foreign Missions, which were first established by the REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A., the REV. THOMAS COKE, LL.D., and others, and which are now, or shall be from year to year, carried on under the sanction and direction of the Conference of the people called Methodists." In this respect the Wesleyan Missionary Society differs from most of the other modern Missionary Societies, whose efforts are limited to the extension of Christianity among the Heathen. I think it a subject of gratulation and thankfulness that by providential circumstances the Methodist Missions have been left entirely unfettered in the range of their operations; and the Missionaries rejoice that they have a message from God to all men. Whether to white or black, to bond or free, to European or Asiatic, American or African, they are alike at liberty to proclaim to all within their reach "a free, full, and present salvation." By a judicious administration of its affairs, the Society, however, expends only a limited portion of its funds for the support of Missions amongst



European colonists; and the grants in aid of Missions among them are merely continued so long as may be needed to afford opportunity for the colonial congregations to provide for the sustentation of their own Ministers and religious establishments.

It is a great charity to take the Gospel to our emigrant population in the Colonies in their early struggles. How many professed Christians and their children are thereby saved from degenerating into Heathenism! And surely this is no less an appropriate work for a Missionary Society than its unquestionable duty to strive to convert the Heathen to Christianity. What glorious results may be expected from these efforts, as the Colonies grow and expand into numerous peoples and nations! These colonial Missions have already been greatly owned of God; and the Society is even now reaping immense benefits, and enjoying extended facilities for the prosecution of its noble enterprises, from its having adopted the plan of sustaining Missions among the colonists. For this portion of our Missionary operations more than one analogy may be found in the New Testament. Our Saviour commanded His Apostles to go *first* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and while they afterwards joyfully acted on their extended commission to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, yet we learn from the sacred record of their labours, that in every city their ordinary custom was first to address themselves to the resident Jews or Jewish proselytes. In like manner our colonial Missions aim *first* at promoting the spiritual welfare of the Colonists, already possessing some knowledge of revealed religion, and with the hope that by awakening an earnest piety among them, they will as a natural consequence in due



season furnish both men and means to aid in the vigorous prosecution of the work of evangelizing the Heathen around them.

As the Rev. B. Shaw favoured Mr. Threlfall's views, at a time when the prospect of an early commencement of the proposed Kaffir Mission was somewhat clouded, I consented that he should leave Albany, and proceed to Cape Town. On his arrival in May, 1823, he was at once introduced to Captain Owen of the Royal Navy, who had command of a surveying squadron employed on the Eastern Coast of Africa, and who offered to take him in H.M. frigate the "Leven," and put him ashore at Delagoa Bay, where Captain Owen represented that there was a most promising opening for a Mission. Mr. Threlfall without hesitation consented to go, and was eventually put on shore at the place indicated. There he remained about a year, living in the greatest discomfort in a very unhealthy climate, and was finally brought away, in what was considered to be a dying state, by the Captain of a whaling vessel. After he reached Cape Town, his health somewhat improved. He was then sent, at his own request, to our Station at Khamies Berg, Namaqualand, which being an elevated and salubrious region, the climate in a short time greatly renovated his health. After a time he started on a long and toilsome journey towards the country of the Great Namaquas and Damaras, on the Western Coast, among whom he hoped to preach the Gospel. He was accompanied by Jacob Links, an excellent native (Namaqua) Missionary. They were both attacked at night, while sleeping under a bush, and barbarously murdered by some miserable natives, for the purpose of plundering them of the few articles of food and other

necessaries which they had in their possession. Thus did the excellent Threlfall offer up his life in the service of the Gospel.

Before I removed from Albany to commence the Kaffir Mission, in the latter part of 1823, the chapel in Graham's Town, which had only been dedicated for worship about a year previously, had become much too small; and as the congregation had greatly increased, we found it much easier to obtain means for enlarging the building than for its original erection. We therefore resolved to add to the length of the chapel one half of its existing dimensions, and to introduce a gallery at one end. By these means it was rendered capable of holding twice the original number of worshippers. While this work was in progress, it was necessary for me to proceed beyond the borders of the Colony on my projected Mission: hence Mr. K. was unavoidably left alone for a few months, till the arrival of the Rev. Samuel Young, who was speedily sent out by the Missionary Committee, to occupy the vacant Station at Salem, and whose steady and judicious labours and conduct proved of the greatest service to the Mission in Albany. I remained in Kaffraria for six years, when I was removed at the request of my brethren, and by the appointment of the Missionary Committee and the Conference, to Graham's Town, where it was thought I might best serve the cause as the resident Minister and Chairman of the District, which at this time was becoming very much extended in its geographical limits. During the six years of my residence in Kaffraria, we were enabled, under the guidance and blessing of Divine Providence, to establish four important Missions among the Kaffirs, and other parts of the country were opening to our labours.

The Missionary Committee nobly sustained us at this period, by reinforcing our numbers from time to time. In the early part of the year 1830, the Rev. Messrs. Palmer, Boyce, and Cameron arrived. Mr. Palmer laboured diligently in Albany, and was very useful for about three years: he then proceeded to take charge of a Station in Kaffraria, where he prosecuted his work with most exemplary zeal and fidelity; and, after enduring much hardship, and encountering some serious dangers during two Kaffir wars, died suddenly while engaged in a noble and generous effort to secure the safe removal of the Missionaries and people of two Stations from a place where they were believed to be exposed to imminent peril of attack from exasperated foes. Messrs. Cameron and Boyce happily still survive; but although that circumstance restrains my pen, yet I cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Cameron, who is at present stationed in Cape Town, has fully developed the great ability and devoted piety of which he gave very early promise. He has laboured in the vineyard, both within the Colony and in the far interior; and beyond many is an able workman, rightly dividing the word of truth. The Rev. W. B. Boyce, after spending about thirteen years in Southern Africa, constrained by family reasons, returned to England; from whence, after two years, he proceeded, at the call of the Missionary Committee, to New South Wales, in the capacity of General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions. After a lengthened residence in that Colony, he took a distinguished part in preparing the way for the formation of the Australasian Conference, of which he was nominated the first President. Mr. Boyce is now in England. A warm and mutual friendship, which dates from our first



acquaintance, renders it needful for me to speak of his personal qualities under restraint; but the great and valuable services which he was enabled to render to our South African Mission, must, without regard to any feeling of private friendship, be made to appear in the second part of this work, when I narrate the early history of the Wesleyan Missions in Kaffraria. Messrs. John Edwards and W. J. Davis were the next Missionaries sent to reinforce our number. Both of them have laboured long and most successfully in very remote parts of the interior; and I trust the great Head of the Church will yet spare them to be the instruments of turning many to righteousness.

The work in Albany had steadily progressed under the care of the Missionaries, during the period of my residence in Kaffraria. It continued to do so after my appointment to Graham's Town. In the year 1831, there was a remarkable revival of religion among the young people of the congregation. Several respectable families, who had for some time been attendants at our chapel, also participated in the religious quickening which was now vouchsafed by the Lord the Spirit. Many were truly converted, and from that time commenced a course of consistent piety, which continues to this time; while others, after some years of Christian devotedness, died happy in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, leaving the most pleasing reminiscences to their surviving friends, of the beauty and excellence of their religious character, and their devoted zeal in the cause of the Redeemer.

The enlarged chapel now became much too small, notwithstanding that many families who had been originally Independents, Presbyterians, or Episcopalians,



had transferred their attendance to the St. George's Episcopal church, or to the Independent chapel, which had been recently erected in the town. The growth of the congregation rendered it once more necessary to take steps for the erection of a larger Methodist chapel; which it was resolved should also possess a much improved architectural character, and stand on a better site than that occupied by the old building. The people contributed liberally; and a chapel, which cost in all about three thousand pounds, was erected. It afforded comfortable accommodation for a congregation of seven or eight hundred persons. It was opened for public worship on Sunday, the 16th of December, 1832. I preached in the forenoon; the Rev. Mr. Monroe (Independent) in the afternoon; and the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury in the evening. The Rev. Mr. Davis, Baptist Minister, preached on the following Monday evening. The collections at these opening services amounted to more than one hundred pounds: showing the growing means and the increasing interest of the people; for at the opening of the first chapel the collection scarcely exceeded twenty pounds. Most of the pews were speedily let; and the large additional accommodation soon began to be occupied by an increasing and serious congregation. The old chapel was retained as a school-house and place of worship for the use of a native congregation; consisting, at this time, chiefly of prize Negroes of various African nations, and Hottentots, for whose benefit Divine worship had been some time conducted in the Dutch language.

Having for family reasons obtained leave from the Missionary Committee to visit England, I left the Colony, for that purpose, in the month of March, 1833.

I was succeeded at Graham's Town by the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, who had been several years in South Africa, and had commenced the important Mission among the tribe of Kaffirs belonging to the great Chief Hintsa. His reputation, as a faithful Minister of Christ, had preceded his arrival in Southern Africa; for the events connected with the destruction of the chapel in which he had preached in the Island of Barbadoes, and his providential escape from the hands of a mob excited to fury against him by the most groundless reports and extravagant misrepresentations, had given him an undesired, but honourable, notoriety among all who wished well to the black and coloured races in our Colonies, and who felt interested in the progress of Christianity among them. The very able and truly evangelical character of Mr. Shrewsbury's ministry, together with his zealous pastoral efforts, was of the greatest service, and many were thereby attracted to the new chapel. A most painful domestic bereavement obliged him to leave South Africa and return to England, after a comparatively short sojourn in Graham's Town; but he left behind him an undying reputation for piety, ministerial ability, and fidelity. On my departure for England the Mission had not been quite thirteen years established, and the state of the work in Albany at this time is correctly represented in the following extract from a report which I wrote for the use of the General Secretaries of the Missionary Society in London.

"A second chapel has been built in Graham's Town by the Wesleyan Society. It was opened on the 16th of December last, and is a very handsome and substantial building, capable of accommodating about

eight hundred hearers. The original chapel, which affords room for upwards of four hundred persons, is now used as a school-house, and also as a place of worship for the black and coloured population, for whose benefit it is requisite to hold separate services, as they do not generally understand the English language.

"Within a period of thirteen years, no less than thirteen substantial chapels have been erected in various parts of the settlement by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants. In several parts of the District, were it not for these chapels, the settlers would have no facilities whatever for regularly attending public worship. Sunday schools have been established in connexion with these places of worship; and, in the Wesleyan schools alone, about eight hundred children and adults, including white and black, bond and free, are taught to read the word of God, and instructed in the principles and morals of the Christian religion.

"By these means not only has the English population been preserved from moral degeneracy, but the tone of moral and religious feeling now existing amongst them would not suffer by a comparison with the high standard which prevails in the most enlightened districts of Great Britain. At the same time the aborigines have not been neglected; many of those who reside within the British settlement have been brought under the influence of Christianity; a very encouraging number have received baptism, and are now consistent members of the Christian Church."



## CHAPTER VI.

### KAFFIR WARS.

RESIDENCE in England—Re-appointment to Southern Africa—Kaffir Wars—Opinion as to the Cause of them—Opposite Errors regarding the Kaffir Character—Kaffirs are “natural Men”—Their moral State depicted in scriptural Terms—Their heathen Condition illustrates the Value of Christianity—Narrative of Events—The Chiefs Makomo, Dhlambi, and Pato—Makomo’s Attack on the Abatembu—Exasperation on his Expulsion from the Kat River—Hottentot Settlement—Natives within the Colonies entitled to suitable Reserves of Land—Such Reserves should be legally secured—Opinion of Commissioners of Inquiry—Kat River Settlement well intended—Produced evil Consequences—Lessons taught by these Events—Native Settlements should not be too large—Should be dispersed among the European Colonists—Should not be placed on a disturbed Border—The Government and Cape Parliament might advantageously appropriate Lands for the Natives—Danger may arise to the Colony from disregarding their Wishes—The Settlements of the Hottentots and Fingoes cannot now be safely disturbed—Care required by Magistrates and Missionaries in watching over them—My Examination before the Aborigines Committee—Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen—Correct Views published at the Time by the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

I WAS absent from the Colony exactly four years, having arrived in Graham’s Town, on my return, in March, 1837. Three years of the time I was stationed on the Leeds West Circuit, which covered the same ground as that now occupied by the Leeds Second and Fourth Circuits. It was my privilege and happiness to labour in great harmony with my colleagues and the people on this important Circuit. During the period of my sojourn here,



our zealous people erected and opened the large building called Oxford Place Chapel. I learned many useful lessons, while stationed here, from my successive Superintendents, (the late Rev. Messrs. R. Wood and J. Anderson,) and was very happy in my Circuit duties. But the design of my visit to England being to a great extent accomplished, I readily consented, on the call of the Missionary Secretaries and Committee, to go out again to Graham's Town; and at the Conference (of 1836) I received an appointment as "General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South Eastern Africa," which office I continued to hold till my last return to England in 1856, a period of twenty years. During my sojourn in England, I was never separated in feeling and sympathy from the affairs of the South African Mission; and the friends of our Missionary Society afforded me abundant opportunities to represent its state, and plead its cause, both in the metropolis and in most parts of England and Ireland. My journeys and attendance at Missionary Meetings, in addition to my regular Circuit duties, were, at times, more than I could easily accomplish; but my health was generally good, and by the kindness of Ministers and people I was sustained in this pleasing but exhausting work.

While I was in England, the distressing intelligence arrived that a war had broken out between the border Kaffir tribes (Amaxosa) and the colonists. There had been several collisions of the same kind between the Kaffirs and the old Dutch colonists, long before the arrival of the British settlers on the border. A very destructive war of this kind, involving the loss of many lives and destruction of much property, had only been terminated by the success of the British troops in 1819.

Peace had been made about a year before the arrival of the British settlers, at an interview between Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Colony, and the Kaffir Chief, Gaika, whom the Colonial Government at that time very unwisely chose to regard as the King or chief governing authority of Kaffraria. From that period till the end of the year 1834, there had been occasional robberies of cattle, and murders perpetrated by the Kaffirs on the English settlers, which were frequently retaliated by active patrols of troops, when not peaceably compensated by the Chiefs; but nothing like a general war had occurred. As the three successive Kaffir wars of 1834, 1846-7, and 1850-2, have had a great effect on all the affairs of the British settlers, and have likewise operated powerfully on the condition and recent history of the Kaffir tribes, I think the reader will expect some statement of my opinion concerning the origin, conduct, and result of these wars, and the most probable means of preventing their recurrence.

I will state at once, and in the most explicit terms, that I do not regard these lamentable collisions as the result of any intentional injustice on the part of the Colonial Government, and much less as the effect of any generally oppressive conduct indulged by the British settlers towards the border tribes. Of course, the few acts of individual wrong or injustice which may have been perpetrated, I neither wish to justify nor to palliate; but I am now speaking of the behaviour of the mass of the settlers towards the Kaffir people, previously to the outburst of the first Kaffir war in 1834. I know that in thus stating the case I shall appear, to some of my readers at least, as recording an opinion very

materially differing from the representations made by other writers on the same topic, who have generally been regarded, from their position and supposed knowledge of the facts, to be most trustworthy authorities. I am also aware that I must encounter the disapproval of many persons in this country, who have been accustomed to view the Kaffirs as so many harmless sheep attacked from time to time by ravenous wolves in the form of an oppressive race of British colonists. But as my opinion has been honestly formed, after a long and minute acquaintance with the subject, I would respectfully submit that there has been very much misapprehension in certain circles on this point. I do not accuse any one of intentional misrepresentation; but these affairs have too often been stated by public writers after the manner of special pleaders. On one hand, every fact and circumstance has been detailed, and commented upon to weariness, whenever calculated to induce a judgment favourable to the innocence of the Kaffir and the rapacity of the colonist. On the other hand, there has been a class of writers who have written concerning the native tribes in terms which betray an utter want of fairness in reviewing their character and conduct. These have measured the Chiefs and the people by the standard which obtains in our own Christianized nation; and because they are found to come very far short of the required altitude in morals and manners, they have been represented as altogether destitute of the characteristics and dignity of human nature, and consequently only fit to be dealt with as animals of an inferior grade in creation.

I need hardly say that I have no sympathy with the views of either of these extreme parties. The Kaffirs

are men possessing all the faculties and feelings of humanity. There are of course diversities of mental power amongst them, as among all other races of mankind; but they probably possess as much capacity for mental improvement as the people of any other nation; and no one who has seen them would ever question their physical ability for being trained to any of the arts or habits of the most advanced civilized society, were they placed in circumstances that favoured such a developement of their powers and faculties. But they have partaken, in common with all the children of Adam, of the evil consequences of his fall. A gentleman once described them before a Committee of the House of Commons, as "natural born thieves." He might have said more; he might have truly represented them in the words of the Wesleyan Conference Catechism, as "all born proud, self-willed, lovers of the world, and not lovers of God." In regard to their original moral condition they are neither better nor worse than others. But for thousands of years their ancestors, like themselves, have been Heathens. The light of traditionary knowledge concerning God and moral subjects has been growing more and more dim, till we at length found them in a state of almost total darkness. Through such a succession of dreary ages, groping their way in a constantly increasing obscurity, can we wonder if we now find them very far gone from righteousness? so that the humiliating description of unmitigated ungodliness contained in the Scriptures is *literally* applicable to them: "There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no,



not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes." (Rom. iii. 10-18.)

It is a subject which I shall not here attempt to investigate, to what extent the continued indulgence of the most gross and debasing vices, by successive generations of ignorant Heathens, may operate in producing a peculiar normal condition, wherein certain forms of sin are specially prominent, and, consequently, become peculiarly characteristic of their race. No doubt all heathen nations greatly differ, in their general ideas and habits, from nations which have long possessed the Divine law, and the elevating and restraining influence of the worship of the true God. Observant and thoughtful men, who have travelled or lived among people placed in the same circumstances as the Kaffirs of South Africa, will never think of raising the question whether Christianity, with her Bible, and her Ministry, and ordinances, has improved and raised the condition of those nations among whom her influence has been felt for any lengthened period. The moral contrast between unmitigated Heathenism, and even an incipient Christianity, will be found to present most conclusive evidence of the humanizing and civilizing tendency of our holy religion. All this, however, seems to have been strangely overlooked or forgotten by many, when they have spoken or written on the subject of the wars on our Kaffir border. Several popular and distinguished writers, under the influence of a strong

bias, in some cases produced by local, party, or personal causes, have so grouped and represented the alleged facts in their publications, as to have produced in the public mind the most erroneous ideas respecting the moral state and character of the native tribes; leading to an impression that, in these sad and painful conflicts, the Kaffirs have always been right, and the colonists as invariably wrong. It has been generally understood and firmly believed by large classes of the most Christian, humane, and philanthropic people of this country, that the Kaffirs were merely fighting in defence of their liberty and territory; while the colonists urged on aggressive war, for the purposes of oppression and the annexation of the Kaffir country. Never was there a popular error with so little reason to excuse it. Only I must request the reader to mark well that I allude *exclusively* in this place to the history of the *British settlers*, and the Kaffirs on the eastern border of the Colony, since the year 1820.

As stated above, a peace was concluded with the principal Kaffir Chief by the Governor of the Colony in 1819, in which the boundary between the Colony and Kaffraria was distinctly defined. The British settlers arrived in 1820, and had, of course, nothing whatever to do with that transaction. This treaty was succeeded by a peace between the colonists and Kaffirs, which endured for fourteen years; the general harmony being only disturbed by occasional robberies and murders, perpetrated within the Colony by small marauding parties. A tract of country, intervening between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, had been reserved by the treaty of 1819, as a sort of neutral

territory, to prevent the too close proximity of the Kaffirs and colonists; and thus to render the danger of disputes and collisions between them less imminent. The Kaffir Chiefs, however, seemed so much disposed to cultivate terms of amity with the English, that Makomo, the son of Gaika, was allowed to re-occupy the Kat River, which, by the treaty, had been included within the limits of the Colony; but which Gaika and his sons chose to say they had not understood to be ceded as part of the neutral territory. No doubt this concession, for the time, was very pleasing to the Gaika Chiefs and their tribes; and as they were told that they were to hold these lands pending good behaviour, it is likely that they were hereby restrained from many depredations which they might otherwise have committed.

The Dhlambi Chiefs, including the tribe of Pato, with which I lived from 1824 to 1830 inclusive, felt aggrieved by the treaty of 1819, as it had deprived them of their share of the neutral territory, over which they denied that Gaika ever had any right or control, and, therefore, he had no power to cede it away. I represented their views and feelings to the Government of the day; and, at a public interview held between the Commandant of Kaffraria and the Chiefs, in the presence of a considerable military force and a large assemblage of the Kaffirs, I rendered important assistance in bringing about a good understanding between the Government and the powerful Chief Dhlambi; whose tribe now moved to their old country, between the Buffaloe and Keiskamma Rivers, from whence they had been driven during the war of 1818-19. I afterwards urged Pato's request, for permission to re-occupy his portion

of the neutral ground on the coast westward of the Keiskamma. The Government, after much correspondence and discussion, at length acceded to his wishes, and allowed this tribe (the Amagunukwaybi) first to occupy a part of it, and then, on their good behaviour for a number of years, the whole, as far as the Great Fish River; and, for some eighteen years, they remained in peaceful re-occupation of the country that had been ceded in 1819.

In the year 1828, Makomo thought proper, with his clan, to attack a small Abatembu tribe, living behind the Kat Bergen, in doing which he pursued them into the colonial territory; and, while the Government was at peace with the nation of Abatembu, his warriors killed or wounded many of them, and carried off at the same time a large number of their cattle. For this outrage it was resolved to expel this Chief from the territory which he had been suffered to occupy, as a special act of favour, contrary to the treaty of 1819. The repeated robberies and murders committed by his people, during several previous years, on the farms of the adjoining Dutch colonists, and this crowning act of aggression on the Tembookie tribe, were considered to be sufficient evidence that they were unworthy to enjoy this privilege any longer; since they seemed disposed to make the favourable position which they occupied in the valleys surrounded by the Kat Berg, a sort of garrison, whence they could at their pleasure sally forth and commit acts of aggression on their neighbours, both white and black. Makomo and his people were, therefore, expelled by the British and colonial forces, happily without bloodshed, from the Kat River; and obliged once more to take up their



abode within the limits assigned to the Gaika tribe by the treaty of 1819.

I have no doubt that this proceeding greatly exasperated Makomo and his people, who could not understand how our Government, acting upon a principle of justice, should inflict this forfeiture on them for an aggression on a neighbouring native tribe. The subsequent war of 1834-5 was, consequently, headed and directed chiefly by Makomo, who despaired of recovering possession of this much coveted tract of land, when he saw that shortly after his expulsion it was peopled by the authority of the Colonial Government. But when the question is raised, What had the British settlers to do with this transaction? the only reply that can be given is, Absolutely nothing! They neither called for the expulsion of Makomo, nor did they aid in any way to effect it. "But did they not get possession of the Kat River lands?" Not an acre of them. The Government resolved to form a large settlement in that locality, consisting of Hottentots and other Africans, born or naturalized in the Colony. These classes of people were invited to take possession: and as they arrived from various parts of the Colony, these lands were subdivided among them. Several villages were formed; and at length a population of this description, without any admixture of European race, saving a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, (the Rev. W. R. Thomson,) and the Rev. Messrs. Reed of the London Missionary Society, who undertook the pastoral charge of the people, —was settled in the district from whence Makomo had been driven.

It is quite beside my present purpose to discuss the policy of this measure of the Colonial Government, for which

Sir Andries Stockenstrom, at that time Commissioner-General for frontier affairs, is chiefly responsible. I entirely concurred at the time, and do so now, in the opinion that the Hottentot race, having been very improperly deprived by the old Dutch Government of all right in the soil of the Colony, once belonging to their forefathers, it was fair and reasonable that some steps should have been taken to provide those among them who had the means of rendering the land available for their own support, with suitable locations, to be held in their own name and right.

I am decidedly hostile, on grounds both of justice and good policy, to any plan of colonization which deprives the natives of all right in the soil. There should be ample reserves of lands of average value made for them in all parts of a territory, which is governed by our colonial rulers, and generally occupied by our colonists. For a time these lands should be legally vested in trustees, selected from a class of persons who, by their inclination or position, must be naturally careful for their interests; or, perhaps, still better, they might remain under the responsible management of the Governor for the time being, without, however, giving him power to alienate such lands for other purposes; excepting under special authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, granted on the concurrent recommendation of the local Parliament. In whatever manner the lands are secured *pro tempore*, there should, however, be a proviso, that, as soon as any of the natives erect appropriate dwellings, and are presumably acquainted with the rights and privileges arising from the ownership of real property, they should receive legal titles, vesting their own lands in their own names in the usual manner; and then they may be safely allowed,

like all other classes of the community, "to do what they will with their own." The result in the course of time would be, that the idle and worthless would dispose of their landed property, and be compelled, by their own want of character and thrift, to join the classes who must seek employment from others, to secure for themselves the means of subsistence; while the more industrious and sober would be found, as a class, to rise in character, and support themselves in comfort on their own homesteads and allotments. His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry long ago expressed an opinion decidedly favourable to the granting of land to the natives; although it appears from their report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, printed in 1830, that they considered it "desirable that the Hottentots should not be congregated in one spot; and that, in restoring to them a portion of that territory which was once their own, and in admitting them to the enjoyment of privileges in common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects in South Africa, any measures should be avoided which might tend to impress them with an opinion that they are destined to form a distinct class of the population." \*

After the above expression of my views, the reader will perceive that I do not wish to represent the settlement of the Hottentots on the vacant lands of the Kat River as *per se* an evil proceeding. On the contrary, I think Sir Andries Stockenstrom, acting in his capacity as Commissioner-General, deserves all honour for recommending and carrying out this honest and bold measure; which he designed to be at once an act of justice to the coloured people, and a means of defence

\* Commissioner Bigge's Report on the Hottentot Population, p. 22.



for an exposed part of the Colony, against the incursions of the border Kaffirs. But it was an experiment; and, however well and honestly intended, it led to some very disastrous results, both as it regards the colonists and the natives. I do not mean that experience shows that it was wrong to grant to the natives the possession of a part of the lands which had belonged to their forefathers. Experience never shows an act of justice to be wrong. But the result in this case has shown that although it was fair and reasonable to grant these people a right in the soil, yet the time and *mode* of doing it, in this instance, entailed certain evil consequences.

FIRST, it greatly exasperated the Chief Makomo and his people, and rendered them very dangerous neighbours. SECONDLY, it brought together from all parts of the Colony a great body of natives, exceeding four thousand in number; having among them painful remembrances of grievous wrongs, suffered by some of them from certain Dutch farmers before the establishment of regular government and courts of justice in the border districts; and with yet more painful traditions, some true, and others exaggerated, or wholly false, of injuries sustained from the same class of colonists, at a still remoter period. This concourse of people, including about one thousand able-bodied men, all armed, and well knowing how to use their fire-arms, were thus entirely separated from the rest of the colonial community, whom they were unhappily induced, by a variety of events, to regard as hostile to them and their interests. In consequence of this arrangement, they gradually lost all sympathy with the white inhabitants; and as many of the latter no doubt disliked seeing numbers of people collected together, as they conceived, without means of



honest subsistence, and who might be fully and more usefully employed as labourers on their farms, which could not be properly managed for lack of such labour,—estranged and even hostile feelings were gradually produced between the two classes. THIRDLY, this large body of the Hottentots and other races were placed close to the Kaffirs, that they might act as a frontier guard for that part of the Colony; but it was not foreseen that this proximity afforded opportunity for intercourse between the two races, which might lead to serious consequences affecting the peace of the country. In point of fact, there is now no doubt that at a rather early period a friendly intercourse, but, from the circumstances of the time, of dangerous tendency, was opened between the natives located on the Kat River, and their Kaffir neighbours. Many of the former, indeed, could speak the Kaffir language; and not a few were connected in various ties of relationship with the neighbouring Kaffirs, in consequence of that intermingling of tribes and families which always occurs in border districts. Hence there is evidence sufficient to show that treasonable intercourse took place between certain Hottentots and the Kaffirs, a short time before the war of 1834; and although during the war, and the subsequent one of 1846, the great body of the Kat River people rendered valuable service in the defence of the country, yet, at the very commencement of the last war, (1850,) there arose a fierce rebellion among the natives of that settlement, which speedily involved a large proportion of its population, who became most dangerous enemies of the Colony; and, by their alliance with the Kaffirs, for a time placed the colonial border, with its scattered population of British settlers, in the

most extreme peril and danger. Indeed, it is undeniable that the greatest atrocities committed during that period were perpetrated by these people and other natives, with whom they were unhappily induced to connect themselves.

The lesson to be learned from all this as to the future,—and it is hoped that the Governors of the various South African Colonies will not forget it, for similar circumstances are likely enough to arise hereafter,—is not, indeed, that the natives should be deprived of all right in the soil. On the contrary, let them have as much of the land as is requisite, whereon to raise for themselves such a subsistence as will render them comfortable and happy; but in securing this end, care should be taken to avoid, as far as circumstances will allow, the planting unmanageably large masses of them together in one locality. A population of from one to two thousand is as many as it is desirable to place in one neighbourhood. A much less number than one thousand, however, would hardly form a sufficient congregation and supply of children for central schools, to render it probable that any responsible Society or Church authority would appoint a Minister to the pastoral oversight of the people; and without a resident Missionary of character and zeal, attached to one or other of the recognised Christian denominations, any collection of natives within the limits of the Colonies of Southern Africa is almost sure, in the present circumstances especially of the Kaffir and Bechuana tribes, to become a centre of wickedness, and a source of trouble and disquiet to the surrounding country.

Plant native settlements where necessary, with a

manageable population, in various parts of the Colonies, and let there always be a "native reserve" in close proximity to the colonial towns, for the residences of those who seek employment there; and let the people of the native settlements, or from the town reserves, mingle freely with the surrounding farmers. The farmers will generally be glad to employ them; and as the natives are under the full protection of the law, and can take their labour to the best market, they may be safely left to their natural shrewdness for securing fair wages according to the value of their services. The colonists can find suitable employment for a numerous body of occasional labourers, especially during the busy seasons of the year, in ploughing and reaping, sheep-washing and shearing. The steady pursuit of a system of this kind may be expected to cause kindly feelings gradually to grow up between colonists and the natives whom they occasionally employ; while many of the children of the latter will be induced to become domestic servants in the families of the European classes, and thus acquire improved habits of great value in promoting their comfort, and advancing them in the general scale of social life in the Colony. As far as possible, it would be well to avoid planting these native settlements on any exposed border, and in contact with tribes known or supposed to be hostile or unfriendly. Past experience—better than any theory—shows that this is fraught with danger. But disperse these settlements through various suitable parts of the Colony: in times of war and commotion they will render quite as good service when summoned as a militia force to the point of danger, and they will be less liable to be successfully tampered with



by designing African Chiefs in more peaceable periods.

The chief difficulty in the Cape Colony in carrying out extensively a plan of this kind arises from the fact, that in all those parts of the country where such a system would be most desirable, as a matter of safety and good policy, and alike promotive of the interests of all classes,—there are few, if any, suitable localities at the disposal of Government. But surely the Cape Parliament might be found willing, for such an object, to give its sanction that a *limited* amount arising from the sale of the very extensive tracts of Government land on some parts of the border, and elsewhere, should be applied to a distinct fund, and be appropriated by the Executive Government in the purchase of suitable lands whereon to form such native settlements in various parts of the Colony. The money so expended need not be regarded as lost. It would, in fact, be an investment; for the annual quit rent, which could be easily obtained from the native grants, would return to the treasury a handsome amount of interest. Under existing circumstances, without some such plan is adopted, no power possessed by the Government or Cape Parliament can prevent numbers of Kaffirs and other natives from congregating in considerable bodies in various parts of the country, destitute of all moral and religious instruction, and comparatively free from all magisterial or legal control. But even if the police throughout the Colony can be so increased as to prevent so undesirable a result, the natives will then inevitably migrate again to the countries from whence they came, and, by their acquired colonial knowledge, will prove very apt agents for any native Chiefs beyond



the border, who may desire to recommence a series of border wars. They are fond of the society of their own class, and the best disposed and most influential of them will not, in general, submit to be prevented from having any place which they can consider as their home, and to which they may occasionally, at least, have the opportunity of resorting. The colonists, as represented by their Parliament, have now their option to consider the peculiarities of the native mind, and to adapt the measures of Government to meet them, so that the vast native population may be gradually settled in their midst, as peaceful and industrious communities; or by a firm and stern denial of all means tending to render the natives possessors of homesteads, and inhabitants of well conducted communities, they may produce such a state of feeling among all classes of the coloured people,—retained exclusively in service,—as will sooner or later produce a servile war, which may prove far more terrible in its consequences than any Kaffir war hitherto experienced on the border.

I trust this long digression will be found not altogether uninteresting to the general reader, as it will explain, at least in outline, the principal difficulties connected with settling and making proper provision for the natives residing within the limits of our South African Colonies. The error of locating such large masses of natives together on an exposed border, which has been twice committed by the settlement of the Hottentots on the Kat River, and the Fingoes on certain tracts on the same frontier, cannot now be remedied. The objects kept in view by the several Governors and other influential persons in founding these settlements, were undeniably good. They wished at once to secure

the safety of the Colony, and to promote the welfare of the natives, by these arrangements; and no candid person can deny that many highly beneficial results have arisen from placing these native settlements under the pastoral care of Christian Missionaries, and the control of responsible Magistrates. But experience has shown that these results might have been even more extensively realized, had the settlements been smaller, and more dispersed among the various frontier districts, further removed from actual contact with the neighbouring Kaffir Chiefs and tribes. The Hottentot and Fingoe locations have, however, now been too long established to be again interfered with. They could not be materially disturbed, but at the peril of producing very great mischief. They must therefore remain as they are, but it behoves the Government to give its most careful attention to the affairs of these people. The Magistrates who reside among them, should be men at once firm and independent, kind and considerate; and a sufficient body of Missionaries and School Teachers should be constantly moving about among them, devoting themselves exclusively to their religious and educational duties, and leaving all fiscal and secular matters to be dealt with exclusively by the officers of Government; the Missionaries and Teachers readily aiding them in any efforts to induce the people to improve their agriculture, and in whatever may be likely to elevate their domestic habits and advance their social comfort.

During my residence in England I was twice examined, at considerable length, before the "Aborigines Committee" of the House of Commons, which, in consequence of the Kaffir war of 1834-5, had been

appointed, on the urgent representations of that most indefatigable and honest friend of Africa and the African race, the late Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart. On the arrival of the mail bringing news of this sudden outburst of the Kaffir tribes on the border districts of the Colony, I also addressed a long letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject. This communication was acknowledged with thanks, and was printed, without abridgment, among the evidence collected by the Aborigines Committee. It was also published in a separate form as a pamphlet, and was somewhat extensively circulated. If any one feels sufficiently interested in the matter to examine that letter and my evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, he will find that the opinions I have expressed in this chapter on the cause of the Kaffir war of that period are substantially the same as those which I then put forth. During a subsequent residence of more than twenty years, with many opportunities for observing what was going forward, having trustworthy correspondents among the various tribes, being on very friendly terms with most of the principal Chiefs, and having had the honour to be consulted on several important occasions by the successive Governors of the Colony, and other high officials, on matters connected with native affairs and the peace of the border; I may surely claim to be even better acquainted with the whole bearing of the subject than I was in 1835. I have, however, found no reason to alter, but much to justify the general statement in which I summed up my remarks in one part of my letter to Lord Aberdeen, and which I will here repeat: "Thus your Lordship will perceive that I attribute the present disturbed state of the Kaffir



border, not to any cruelties perpetrated by the British settlers upon the Kaffirs; not to any want of humanity in the British officers in their treatment of the native tribes, or of zeal and activity in the protection of British lives and property; but to the moral state and predatory habits of the Kaffirs, the evil tendencies of which have been aggravated by the exceedingly mischievous character of our border policy."

The views entertained by the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society regarding the outbreak of the Kaffir war, are thus clearly set forth in their announcement to the friends of our Missions, as published in the "Missionary Notices" for May, 1835:—

"Long before this number of our 'Notices' can be circulated, our readers, generally, will have learned, from the public journals, the deeply afflictive intelligence which has arrived from South Africa during the last few weeks. We refer to the fearful calamity which, in the month of December, overtook the settlers in the Albany District, and other portions of the Eastern Borders of the British Colony, by an irruption of the pagan Kaffirs, who passed the frontier line at various points, and in very numerous bodies, and have pursued a course of plunder, devastation, and murder, the description of which is too horrible for minute recital in our pages. At the date, however, of the latest accounts hitherto received, (January 30th,) there was reason to hope that the progress of the invaders had been arrested; and that general security and tranquillity would, in some tolerable degree, be speedily restored: but the loss of life, as well as of property, has, we fear, been very considerable; and the distress entailed by the visitation will be both intense and enduring. Amidst



these scenes of alarm and peril, we are happy to state, there is reason to believe that the lives of all our beloved Missionaries, and their families, have been graciously preserved. For this signal mercy, we unite with them and their numerous English friends in offering devout thanksgivings to Divine Providence. Their circumstances, however, and those of our Societies in South Africa, are still such as to call for the tenderest sympathy, and entitle them to a very special interest in the prayers of all who have the cause of Christ at heart. When more ample intelligence shall have arrived *from themselves*, we shall endeavour to satisfy the intense anxiety of our readers by publishing the particulars. In the mean time we rejoice to add, that the influence of Christianity, where its truths and institutions had previously been brought into even partial operation, appears to have been considerably pacific and salutary on those Chiefs and tribes who had made any explicit acknowledgment of its authority; and that the mischief has thus been, in some degree, *checked and mitigated*. Had the Gospel been more extensively propagated, and the moral feelings and habits of the natives at large brought under its mild and ameliorating control, by means of a more adequate supply of Missionaries and Schoolmasters than has hitherto been afforded to Kaffraria, even by the united efforts of all the Societies, who can tell how much of the calamity might have been altogether *prevented*? Large and powerful masses of *unchristianized* and uncivilized men can never long be safe neighbours to a Christian Colony. We must give them our religion, if we would reckon with certainty on securing their cordial confidence and friendship."

The painful subject is again referred to in a subse-

quent number of the "Missionary Notices" for the same year, in the following passage; which displays an acquaintance with the subject most creditable to the writer. Much evil would have been prevented, if all popular English writers who at this period hastily undertook to enlighten the world concerning the causes of the Kaffir war, had taken similar care, first, to become thoroughly familiar with the facts, and, afterwards, to apply a sound philosophy in accounting for them.

"It is not our province to dwell at large upon the causes of the Kaffir war. Those who are aware of the irritating effect produced upon the mind of Makomo, by a succession of such measures as that to which the Rev. William Shaw has referred, in his 'Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen,' lately published, (a pamphlet which we strongly recommend to those who desire thoroughly to understand the subject,) will not be at a loss to account for the origin of the recent calamity. But of whatever Makomo and his brother Tyalie might have to complain, in respect to the policy pursued by the Colonial Government, Hintza had no personal grievance to be redressed. His territories were too remote to suffer from any incursions from the Colony. On one occasion, when threatened with invasion from other tribes, he had been defended by the colonial forces; and he had always the means at command for protecting his people against the wrong-doings of any English traders who might visit or reside among them. It would not really serve the cause of humanity to deny, that his native cupidity had no small share in prompting him to cherish and promote the war. It would be a mistaken philanthropy, and a palpable contradiction of St. Paul's description of the

Gentile world, to represent mere heathen men as combining in their character all that is noble and excellent. It is not their virtue which entitles them to our sympathy, but their bondage to demoralizing and cruel superstitions, and their need of that Gospel which alone can save fallen man; and the fearful energy even of their vices tends only to strengthen the appeal in their behalf. The death of Hintza is an event deeply to be deplored: Christian charity would have rejoiced in his preservation and final subjugation to the Gospel; yet his murderous intentions towards the Missionary can scarcely be doubted. His growing dislike to 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' united with other motives, had evidently placed the Mission family in imminent peril: and their providential deliverance is cause of gratitude. The heroic firmness of the Missionary, which proved, most probably, the means of preserving the lives of the new converts from the vengeance of the pagan Chief, will be duly appreciated by our readers; and the friends of the Society will offer their fervent prayers to the great Head of the Church, that the scattered flock in the late Hintza's territories may speedily be collected again, and that the hopeful work which had been begun among his people may be prosecuted more successfully than ever."



## CHAPTER VII.

### KAFFIR WARS—THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

RETURN to Graham's Town—Effects of the War of 1834—Colonel Smith's Report—Statement of colonial Losses—Colonists exasperated—Injudicious Interference of Friends of the Native Tribes—Reversal of Sir B. D'Urban's Measures—My published Opinion on the Case of the Settlers at this Time—The Settlers petition King William IV., and the Imperial Parliament—Lord Glenelg's Dispatch—Subsequent Disclaimer of imputing Blame to the Settlers—Wesleyan Missionaries misrepresented—Controversy—Wesleyan Missionary Motto—Experience shows that our Views were sound because just—A contrary Policy produced the War of 1846—Sir P. Maitland—Sir H. Pottinger—Evil of rapid Changes of Governors—Sir H. Smith and the Peace—Reduction of Military Force—British Commissioners unable to check the lawless—Inadequate moral Means—Certain Chiefs commence the War of 1851—2—False Economy—Sir George Cathcart restores Peace—Measures for promoting future Security—The Kaffirs *now* deprived of a large Tract of Territory—British Settlers not responsible for this Result—Only Excuse for the Chiefs the lengthened Licence allowed them by our Government—Frontier Settlers do not generally profit by Kaffir Wars—Losses and Sufferings of many of them—"Board of Relief"—Persons who obtain Government Employment or Contracts cannot influence the Question of War or Peace—The Subject of Kaffir Wars very extensive—Sources of Information—"Notes on South African Affairs"—General Concurrence of Opinion renders the Justification of Wesleyan Missionaries complete—Reason for referring to the now obsolete Controversy.

ON my arrival at Graham's Town in March, 1837, I found the people just recovering from the sad results of the previous war. Many of the settlers had been killed, and numerous farm-houses which, before I left

the country, had been erected in various parts of the district, had been burnt down. These white-washed farm-buildings added greatly to the picturesque variety and liveliness of the scene, as I used to traverse it on my pastoral and preaching journeys; but they now only appeared as desolated ruins, with blackened walls, and having tales of horror connected with their recent history, which were recited to me by the owners, whom I now found once more living in tents or huts, on property where I had previously seen them occupying very comfortable dwellings, erected at considerable cost, and no small amount of personal labour. It is beside my purpose to enter into the painful details either of this war, or of the two subsequent wars which occurred while I was a resident in the country. Indeed, I cannot more briefly or forcibly state the distress and misery occasioned by the Kaffir inroad of 1834-5, than by quoting the following passage contained in a report transmitted by Colonel (now Lieutenant-General) Sir Harry Smith, G.C.B., to the Governor at Cape Town, in January, 1835:—

“Already are seven thousand persons dependent upon the Government for the necessaries of life. The land is filled with the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless. The indelible impressions already made upon myself, by the horrors of an irruption of savages upon a scattered population, almost exclusively engaged in the peaceful occupation of husbandry, are such as to make me look on those I have witnessed in a service of thirty years,—ten of which in the most eventful period of the war,—as trifles to what I have now witnessed; and compel me to bring under consideration, as forcibly as I am able, the heart-rending position in which a very large portion of the inhabitants of this frontier are at present placed, as well as their intense anxiety respecting their future condition.”

The actual extent of damage sustained by the settlers of Albany, including the losses of the Dutch settlers in the northern border districts, was carefully inquired into, and officially reported by the Government to amount to the estimated value of £288,625. 4s. 9d.

It is hardly necessary to say, that these heavy losses, inflicted on people who were not conscious of having committed—and in fact were entirely innocent of—any act of aggression on the Kaffir tribes, produced very much exasperation. Under such circumstances, it can scarcely be expected that the mass of the people would regard the Kaffirs with very complacent feelings. Indeed, I soon became painfully sensible of a great revulsion in the sentiments of the British settlers in reference to the Kaffir race. Up to the period of my departure, the prevailing feeling was undoubtedly that of kindness and good will towards these people. Hearty wishes for the success of the Missions among them, and the progress and improvement of the Kaffir Chiefs and people, were often expressed by all classes of the settlers, many of whom, on the visits of the Chiefs, (which, after I brought the first of them to the Colony, became rather frequent,) received them into their houses, and treated them with much generous hospitality. But the painful events of the war greatly diminished those feelings of kindness on the part of the British settlers. In some minds, indeed, strong sentiments of dislike were produced; and even among professors of religion it was at times requisite, in mild but decisive terms, to speak of the great Christian duty, to forgive our enemies, and to pray for those who despitefully use us. Those who have never been placed in such painful circumstances may think this strange; but candid



persons who are acquainted with the history of border tribes in all lands, and embraced in every period of historic narrative, will feel no amazement at such a result.

Unhappily these feelings were, for a time, rendered much more intense than probably they would have been, in consequence of the course pursued by some among the professed friends of the native tribes, who, either from defective information, or so strong a sympathy with the natives as rendered them blind to the just rights and claims of the settlers, were certainly led into a course of action which greatly increased the prevailing exasperation. It was believed that, owing to the interference and one-sided representations of some of these well-meaning but indiscreet gentlemen, the arrangements which Sir B. D'Urban had made at the conclusion of the war, for the pacification and future protection and safety of the country, had been inconsiderately overruled and set aside by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and in proportion to the confidence which the British settlers had reposed in the judgment and honest intentions of that excellent Governor, were the disgust and vexation universally felt by them, when they learned that his plans for the future government of the border were all to be set aside, and the Kaffirs were to be restored at once to the occupation of a large portion of the territory which they had ceded in 1819; consequently, that the Chiefs, instead of suffering any penalty for causing so much loss and misery by an unprovoked war, regarded themselves as rewarded for their efforts by a considerable accession of territory, that once more placed them in the impenetrable neighbourhood of the Fish River

bush, which had, in former years, been the great stronghold from whence their hordes issued to rob and murder.

The opinion which I was led to form upon the case of the settlers, was fully expressed in a letter which I addressed to a friend in England, shortly after my return to the Colony. The following is an extract from that communication.

“I have already seen enough to be fully convinced of the ruinous consequences, to great numbers of the settlers and country people, by the late Kaffir irruption. I am aware that well-informed persons in England never doubted this; and it could not require any corroborative testimony, if it were not that interested persons have sought to mislead the public mind on this subject. I can assure you that the effects of this fearful disaster will be felt for years to come, both as it respects the *temporal* and *spiritual* interests of the settlers; and I hope you will not hesitate to publish it as my most decided opinion, that if *adequate compensation* be not granted to the sufferers, it will be a most flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government, *who sent the settlers to the lands which they now occupy*; and it will always be justly quoted as a lamentable instance of neglect of British interests, by those who should have fostered and protected them, at the same time that they practically cared for the native tribes. I find that many of the ruined people are despairing of help; but I have endeavoured to console them with the belief that the Government will not abandon them; and I never will believe (unless compelled by facts) that any administration will refuse to recognise their just claims to compensation. You know my views on this subject generally, and they have undergone no change. The border policy of this Colony, for years previously to the irruption of the Kaffirs, had been very bad, and therefore was very injurious both to colonists and Kaffirs; but for this the settlers were not to blame: they complained several times of the border system, and very earnestly entreated for the substitution of some other plan. They now very

naturally think, that it is a great hardship that any class of persons in England should hold them responsible for the *effects of a system* which they *always deprecated*; and that to exhibit charges, which *have not been and never can be proved*, against an innocent and well-meaning people, because the system of which *they were not the contrivers*, but the *victims*, has produced bad consequences, is only to offer *insult* instead of *commiseration* to the sufferers.

"My utmost efforts shall be used in every way consistent with my office and character as a Minister of the Gospel, to calm the tumult of our people's minds. In common with the rest of the community, they have been *greatly and injuriously excited* by recent events, and, considering the ungenerous treatment which they and their Ministers have received from a party who affect to be friends of the Kaffirs, but who, *in fact, have as yet done next to nothing for that people*, I cannot wonder at the indignation which is everywhere manifest, although I am bound, by a thousand motives, to exhort them 'to forgive their enemies,' and to 'pray for them who have despitefully used them.'"

The British settlers, strong in the conviction of their innocence of the charges that had been made against them,—especially the allegation that they had gone on many Commandoes into the Kaffir territory, to make forcible reprisals, and thereby brought the Kaffir invasion upon themselves, which was wholly untrue,—resolved to place their denial of these accusations before the highest branches of the British Government. They successively addressed His Majesty (William IV.) in Council, June 17th, 1835; the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (Lord Glenelg,) January 23rd, 1836; and finally transmitted a petition to the "Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled." The chief points on which the petitioners complained, and the redress they sought, are com-



prised in the following extract from the last named document.

*"Your petitioners are aware that their character and conduct have been represented to their country, by wicked and designing persons, as dishonest and cruel, as oppressive to the native tribes, and as factious to the Government; and they feel but too sensibly that they have allowed such slanderous accusations to pass unheeded, until they have fixed themselves but too firmly in the minds of their countrymen, suppressing that sympathy which they claim as their just due, and restraining the hand which would otherwise have been stretched out promptly in their succour and defence. A sufficient refutation of all such calumnies may, however, be found in the fact that, although the settlement of Albany has suffered so severely from the depredations of the Kaffir hordes, still, until the late general irruption, no Commando from this settlement ever entered the Kaffir territory, either to make reprisals or otherwise, with the exception of one solitary instance, where a party of its young men proceeded to the succour of the Kaffirs, at the very moment when destruction awaited them at the hands of the dreaded 'Fetcani.' In vain, however, have your petitioners put forth a denial of accusations equally cruel and unjust; the charges have been reiterated, and although they have petitioned His most gracious Majesty the King in Council,\* and also the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies,† urgently praying for inquiry on the spot into those charges which have been preferred against them, so manifestly to their injury, their prayers have not been acceded to; and they are still suffering under the withering effects of that calumny which has been so industriously circulated, and so generally credited, in every part of the British dominions.*

*"That your petitioners having, as they trust, clearly proved to your Honourable House the injustice with which they have been treated both by the native tribes adjacent and by their own Government; having also clearly shown, from official records and admitted facts, that ever since this Colony has been a British possession, the Eastern Province*

\* "Dated June 17th, 1835."

† "Dated January 23rd, 1836."

has been repeatedly depopulated by the formidable inroads of the Kaffirs, and that their more petty incursions have been alike incessant, disastrous, and irritating; it now becomes the painful duty of your petitioners to advert to the late destructive irruption, when, without the least warning, and at a time to all appearance of profound peace, the barbarian hordes suddenly burst into the Colony, demolished in one short week the entire labours of fifteen years, wantonly murdered upwards of forty of the peaceful inhabitants, destroyed by fire 455 farm-houses and 58 wagons, carried off 5,438 horses, 111,418 cattle, and 156,878 sheep and goats, scattered and destroyed nearly the entire harvest of the preceding year, and committed other ravages altogether amounting to the total estimated value of £288,625. 4s. 9d.\*

"The result of this barbarous and unprovoked inroad is that great numbers of the frontier colonists are reduced from comparative comfort to a state of such abject poverty and want, that it must be seen to be fully understood; and it will scarcely occasion surprise to your Honourable House, after the details which your petitioners have felt it their duty to lay before you, to add that the poignancy of their sufferings is immeasurably increased by the fact that the Right Honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch † to His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, has stated his conviction, that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffirs by the colonists, and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample justification of the late war, and that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment.

"That your petitioners take this opportunity of disclaiming most unequivocally any participation in conduct which could warrant or dictate the bitter reproach cast upon the colonists in this instance; and hence they are induced to appeal to your Honourable House for that justice which they have repeatedly and urgently prayed for in vain at the hands of His Majesty's Government; and they now most humbly pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to

\* "*Vide* Report of the Government Commissioner."

† "Dated December 26th, 1835."

take their case into its most serious consideration, and that such measures may be adopted thereon, as shall seem to your Honourable House best calculated to insure them,—

“1. *The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, to investigate on the spot into those charges which have been so injuriously made against them.*

“2. That they may receive pecuniary compensation for those ruinous losses which have recently befallen them, and which may justly be attributed to inattention to their repeated petitions and most urgent remonstrances.

“3. For such adequate protection in future against the aggressive inroads of the native tribes, as shall stimulate the plundered inhabitants to re-establish themselves on their ruined and deserted farms; as shall check that extensive abandonment of the Colony which is now in course of progress; and as shall restore that confidence in the justice and paternal regard of the British Government, which had been forfeited, to a considerable extent, by the adoption of impolitic measures, and by lending a too credulous ear to the reprehensible calumnies which have been cast upon a community of British subjects, whose humanity and loyalty they do not hesitate to declare are alike unimpeachable.”

It will be observed that a very unfortunate passage in Lord Glenelg's despatch of December 26th, 1835, had given the settlers very great offence. His Lordship had permitted himself to say at the conclusion of a paragraph, which blended both a correct and erroneous statement of the premises, that the Kaffirs had been “urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims; and I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion, that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain.” Seeing this view of the case prevailed at the Colonial Office, the reader will not be surprised that



nothing came of the forcible appeals made by the settlers to the Home Government. No Commission of Inquiry was appointed to "investigate on the spot," and no "compensation" was granted in any way to those who had lost their property. The sole satisfaction obtained was, that Lord Glenelg was at length, by the force of facts, compelled to make the British settlers a sort of *amende honorable*, which was conveyed to them through the Local Government in the following terms:—

"Deeply regretting, as he does, the promulgation of any statements which have given so much pain to *these loyal and meritorious subjects of His Majesty,—the inhabitants of the Eastern Province*,—Lord Glenelg has expressed his desire that the memorialists should be informed that *His Majesty's Government disclaim all participation in the sentiments which have dictated the reproaches cast on the character of the colonists*. He appreciates, and cannot but applaud, the solicitude of the memorialists to relieve themselves from the effects of the statements in question; but he has felt it, however, impossible to concur in the expediency of appointing a Commission of Inquiry. Such a measure would not, in his Lordship's judgment, answer any useful purpose, inasmuch as the report of a Commission, and the evidence resulting from an inquiry, would be too voluminous for general circulation; nor does Lord Glenelg regard the proposed Commission as a proper mode of repelling imputations on a whole people. He conceives there are other and much more convenient channels through which the memorialists, without incurring the delay, the expense, and the prejudice, which would attend an inquiry by Commission, might effectually promulgate their defence against accusation; and to those methods of vindication the parties concerned will probably, he imagines, think it expedient to resort."

I returned to the Colony just as the final movements were being made to restore the neutral country to the Kaf-

firs, and consequently when the excitement from this cause was at its height. The Wesleyan Missionaries had been openly assailed, and that frequently, by a portion of the press, and also from the platform, in England, as being hostile to the interests of the Kaffirs, and pro-colonial in their views and aims. The basest motives, wholly alien to those which ought to influence Missionaries in their intercourse with the native tribes, were attributed to them. One of their number, who had returned to England in consequence of domestic bereavement, was singled out for special attack, on account of a paper which, at a time of great anxiety, he had hastily written at the request of the Governor, the object and aim of which were probably misunderstood, but certainly misrepresented by the parties referred to. The whole of these proceedings were evidently got up to damage the Wesleyan Missionaries as witnesses before the British public; for it was known that while as anxious as any class of persons to secure the real interests and welfare of the Kaffir tribes, yet their views of the cause and origin of the recent war were not in exact accordance with the representations that had been made by those whom the colonists regarded as their enemies.

The result of all this was, that for a time a painful controversy arose between several of the Missionaries of different Societies. I was reluctantly drawn into it. While I was in England, I published a long letter, which occupied an entire page of the "Watchman" newspaper, under the signature of "A Returned Missionary." The object of this letter was to remove, if possible, the effect of certain misrepresentations which had been made about that time by various influential agencies. And after my return to the Colony, circum-

stances compelled me to publish a lengthy pamphlet in defence of the views entertained by the Wesleyan Missionaries, and the course of action we had pursued. It was remarkable that at the very time this was going forward, the Wesleyan and the Scottish Missionaries—most of whom sympathized in our views—were engaged in more extensive and energetic efforts than any others for the promotion of the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Kaffirs. It should also be stated that it was by means of three Wesleyan Missionaries,—the Rev. Messrs. Shepstone, Boyce, and Palmer, who adventured their lives in the effort,—that peace was obtained for the Kaffirs on advantageous terms, when the colonial force was in a condition and ready to inflict very severe chastisement upon them. Both the Governor and the colonists knew that the Wesleyan Missionaries only advocated just and reasonable arrangements: hence they often obtained a hearing, and thereby became the instruments in either averting impending evil from the Kaffirs, or otherwise inducing the Government to grant concessions, and make such modifications in the varied details of measures as were calculated to secure their interests and welfare.

In the difficult position in which they found themselves placed at this period, and for many subsequent years, between the colonists and the Kaffirs, the Wesleyan Missionaries simply followed the standing "General Instructions" given to them by the Managing Committee of the Society, in which they are reminded that the Methodist motto is, "The friends of all, the enemies of none." It was, however, not very pleasant to find themselves often denounced both by persons in England, and, to some extent, by individuals residing in



and near Cape Town,—six hundred miles distant from the scene of danger,—possessing no greater personal acquaintance with the matter than those dwelling in Great Britain, as a class of Missionaries who had betrayed the interests of the native tribes ; whereas, at the time of which I am writing, they were enduring hardships and encountering personal hazards and dangers, while seeking to secure the best interests of the Kaffirs, to an extent that had no parallel among the Missionaries of any other Society, much less among those individual Missionaries through whose representations they were chiefly assailed.

Looking back on the history of the Kaffir border for the last twenty-five years, it has now become evident, that the views taken by the Wesleyan Missionaries were as sound in policy as the measures they advocated were in accordance with the duty of every well-regulated Government. We always maintained that our rulers ought not at any time to “bear the sword in vain,” but that our Christian and civilized Government should always be “a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.” It ought neither to commit nor to permit injustice, nor should it tolerate any breach of the peace. Without assuming the responsibility of endorsing all their proceedings, yet I believe, as a general rule, the successive Governors of the Colony were ever honestly desirous of avoiding the committal of any act of injustice towards the Kaffirs ; but, from a fear of bringing on war, and thereby subjecting themselves to severe censure and probably recall by the Home Government, the Chiefs and people of Kaffraria who were disposed to behave themselves in a wild and intractable manner, were suffered for years to act almost as they

liked. They committed murders and robberies on an extensive scale, within the borders of the Colony, with almost entire impunity, especially during some seven years after they were reinstated in the neutral country.

During the greater part of this period one Governor held the reins; and made it his boast, when leaving the country, that he had strictly observed the instructions received from Lord Glenelg when he was appointed; and that the troops had never fired a shot against the Kaffirs while he had ruled the country. This was almost literally true; but every one who resided on the border during that period, knew that this course of winking at Kaffir depredations was no real kindness to the Kaffir people. It rapidly weakened among them the influence of those motives of self-interest, which might have gone far to restrain them from indulging their predatory habits on the border settlers. They saw that the most troublesome and restless among them—the Chiefs and people who most frequently committed depredations on the colonists, and enriched themselves thereby—were petted by the Government, which appeared afraid to check them; while the Chiefs and others, who showed a disposition to behave peaceably, and gave little or no trouble, seemed to be neglected, if not despised.

This period of licence at length produced the result that was long foreseen as inevitable; being followed by the war which was forced upon General Sir P. Maitland in 1846; and which, in cost and sacrifice of life and property, on both sides of the boundary, far exceeded that of 1834. The Kaffirs had become apt scholars in the art of war; and were better provided with the means

of carrying it on. The value of the property taken or destroyed along the line of frontier, during the war of 1846-8, was carefully investigated, and ascertained to be about half a million pounds sterling! Sir P. Maitland was at once a devout Christian and a distinguished soldier. He was so greatly influenced by humane and benevolent feelings, that no man who knew him can doubt but that he would have avoided this war, if he had seen any possibility of doing so. Never was a veteran General less amenable to the charge of a wanton wish to plunge a country into needless war and bloodshed. He tried, by negotiation and the most reasonable proposals, to induce the Chiefs concerned to come to terms, and avoid the alternative of war. In this he utterly failed; simply because the Kaffirs had been long prepared for the contest, and had formed a strong opinion that the English were afraid of them; and that, as they had during the last ten years provided themselves with horses and fire-arms, they would now be a match for the troops and colonial forces; while their vast superiority of numbers would enable them to "drive the white people into the sea."

The result of this war was that, after Sir P. Maitland and Sir H. Pottinger had successively been removed from the government during the progress of hostilities, Sir Harry Smith arrived, and concluded the war on the submission of the belligerent Chiefs; releasing the Chiefs Sandilli and Makomo, who had been some time a sort of state prisoners. It is a singular fact, and shows the evils arising from changing Governors and Commanders at critical periods, that Sir P. Maitland was just on the point of making peace with the Chiefs in January, 1857, on almost the same terms as those which Sir H. Smith



dictated on the 23rd of December of the same year, amidst two thousand Kaffirs and a portion of the British troops, all the Chiefs of Kaffraria west of the Kei River being present ; but then Sir H. Pottinger had been the intermediate Governor. Having been selected by the Home Government for his reputed great abilities, he was sent to bring the war to a close, and to settle the affairs of the country on a satisfactory and permanent basis. On his arrival, however, he re-commenced the war, which he found languishing and ready to terminate ; and, after expending more than half a million sterling, handed over the control of affairs to Sir H. Smith ; who, as stated above, thereupon made peace, on much the same terms as had been proposed, and were ready to be accepted by the Kaffirs, when the negotiations were suspended by the arrival of his predecessor.

By the arrangement made at this time by Sir H. Smith, the border Kaffir district, now called "British Kaffraria," was once more placed under the control of British functionaries ; and the system which had been in force during the period that Sir B. D'Urban was the Governor, was, in its main principles, again restored. It was singular that, as Colonel on the Staff, Sir Harry Smith had been the Chief Commissioner for Kaffraria under Sir B. D'Urban ; and having subsequently distinguished himself highly in India, as the "Hero of Aliwal," he had now come back in the capacity of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and once more established the system of which he had been the highest executive functionary in 1835.

For nearly three years after peace was made by Sir H. Smith, the border continued quiet and undisturbed. The frontier settlers were contented and happy ; and all

their affairs were once more beginning to show signs of renewed prosperity, while the Kaffirs seemed to have learned that the old Chief Pato had spoken truly as well as figuratively, when, being asked by messengers sent by other Chiefs to assist them in a war to drive the English out of the country, he replied, after due consultation with his advisers, "The rock is fast, it cannot be moved." How well it would have been for the Kaffirs, and for numerous border colonists, if this had, by the force of events, become the abiding sentiment of the nation! But, unhappily, the economical policy of the Home Government, strenuously urged by certain Members of Parliament, whom, if it was not known that they had been misled by erroneous statements, I should characterize as being apparently reckless of the lives and property of their fellow-subjects, residing in exposed portions of the empire,—once more prevailed. For the *third* time the troops hastily sent out at vast expense to protect the country during war, were rapidly reduced to a number so ridiculously small, for the defence of such an extensive and exposed frontier, that their apparent weakness—now more evident from their being stationed chiefly in British Kaffraria, and, therefore, under the daily observation of the Chiefs and counsellors—tempted the Kaffirs to try again the fortune of war.

This time they really had to plead what might be regarded as something like a patriotic motive for making an effort to drive the troops out of the country. Hitherto, as I have shown, they had not lost any of their territory since the arrival of the British settlers in 1820. But, on the contrary, for a period of from ten to fifteen years, they had re-occupied first a part, and

afterwards the whole, of the ceded territory, extending from Fort Beaufort to the sea; which occupation they had only recently forfeited by the war of 1846-7. Since 1848, however, the troops (not the colonists) occupied a line of defensive posts *within* their country; and thus enabled the British Commissioners, by means of a native police, to enforce the restitution of cattle stolen from the Colony, and by the natives from each other; and thereby, in some degree, to check the mischievous action of the Chiefs in governing their people. Hence, although no wrong was done them by the Government functionaries, who abstained, perhaps, only too much from interference between the Chiefs and their people; yet the existence of another race of men as conquerors among them, may not unnaturally have excited something like the feeling of nationality, and a desire to drive away their foreign rulers.

The inherent weakness of the system in operation under Sir H. Smith was the inadequacy of the military force and other means for overawing the turbulent and badly disposed. Had such a force been retained in the country, as would have justified the resident Commissioners in controlling more effectively the pernicious proceedings of many of the Chiefs, who had long been accustomed to impunity and licence,—and had the maintenance of a suitable physical force been combined with greatly extended and efficient moral and religious means for gradually diffusing Christianity among the people,—for which, however, the system made no provision whatever, while the Missionary Societies were unable to do it on a sufficiently large and pervading scale,—many years of peace would most likely have followed. By these means, time would have been



afforded for the growth of a more prevailing public sentiment in favour of peaceful pursuits, which had already been created amongst those portions of the Kaffir people who were connected with the Missionary institutions, and through them had, to some extent, been communicated to many other well-disposed people around them.

But, unhappily, the old error was again committed. The troops were once more reduced to a most inadequate number; and, as in each previous instance, the Kaffirs soon saw the weakness of the force in front of them. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for certain Chiefs to use their accustomed "dodge," and induce an enthusiast or a knave to pretend to have received communications from the spirits of departed Chiefs; and thus, by vague announcements and special orders of an absurd character, founded upon the national superstitions which the Chiefs easily enforced, to prepare the people for war. For this, when quite ready, they speedily found an occasion, at a time when a body of troops had been ordered to go in support of the native police, who had tried in vain to obtain a fine and restitution for some stolen cattle. Thus arose the war of 1851-2, in the commencement of which Sir H. Smith had a very narrow escape from being seized by the Kaffirs, and the troops at first suffered very severely. Sir Harry had done his utmost to prevent this war. His reputation was at stake; and he had every motive to avoid war, if possible. But although he tried every expedient that could be supposed likely to avert an event dreaded alike by the well disposed among the Kaffirs, by the border colonists, and by the chief officers of Government, yet all proved unavailing; and

thus a contest, involving still greater sacrifice of life and property than on any former occasion, was the result.

It is really distressing to look back on these events, and see how much mischief resulted from an unwise economy, which led to the two previous wars, by denuding the frontier of adequate means of defence; resulting not merely in great loss of life and property, but involving the British treasury in such an amount, (millions of pounds,) for extraordinary war charges, as would have been sufficient to sustain an ample force for a whole generation. The Home Government had once more repeated its previous errors, and weakly succumbed to the incessant calls made by certain badly informed, or "penny wise and pound foolish" Members of Parliament, for the reduction of the number of troops kept on the Kaffir border; and had thereby afforded opportunity for this third Kaffir war. But, as on former occasions, it hastily sent out, at great expense, strong reinforcements; including the gallant First Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which had not long returned to England after being employed against the Kaffirs in the previous war.

Both the country and the Government, however, at length became very impatient of the protracted character and enormous cost of the fruitless contest which was being carried on; and hence Sir George Cathcart was eventually sent to supersede Sir H. Smith, and arrived just as the latter, by a series of concentric military movements, had brought the war to its crisis, and left his successor the easy task and the glory of speedily terminating it. Sir George Cathcart had, however, the more difficult duty to discharge of making arrangements for the future settlement of the affairs

of the country. He retained British Kaffraria as before, but compelled the Gaika tribes to evacuate the extensive valleys at the bottom and up the slopes of the Amatola Mountains ; which had been their favourite residence, and their supposed impregnable garrison, for several generations ; ever since, indeed, their forefathers, intruding from the north-east, had arrived in that part of Southern Africa, and had driven out its original inhabitants of the Hottentot race.

The country thus evacuated the new Governor partially filled up with Fingoes, and the more open districts along the left bank of the Keiskamma by the Kaffir tribes of Kama, Sewane, and Pato, which were to a considerable extent under the influence of the Missionaries, and had taken no active part in the late war, but in various ways had assisted the British forces, and were believed by Sir George Cathcart to be more peaceably disposed than the other Chiefs and tribes. No doubt the Gaika tribes felt these to be most humiliating terms. But there was still a sufficient extent of land assigned for their residence within the limits of British Kaffraria ; and, by the arrangements which the Governor made, there was really no ground for the complaint which they urged, that they were crowded into too narrow a space. In reality, they were now to occupy a very fine tract of well-watered and grassy country, quite as extensive as that from which they had been expelled, but not so well situated for enabling them to carry on predatory or other warlike proceedings.

A tribe of Tembookies (Abatembu), living further to the north than the Amaxosa or border Kaffir tribes, having joined the confederacy of Kaffir Chiefs against the Colony, and become dangerous enemies on the



north-eastern part of the border, Sir George Cathcart now compelled them to occupy a district of that country which he assigned to them, and which, besides being a very fine country, is sufficiently large for all the purposes of peaceful life; and the lands vacated by them he formed into a new division of the Colony, (Queen's Town Division,) wherein he established a large body of Fingoes and other friendly natives, including the Tembookies of the Wesleyan Mission Settlement of Lesseyton. To these were added a considerable body of European settlers, who, being invited from the other border districts, were placed on farms of more limited extent than had been usual in the other parts of the Colony, so as to concentrate the population; and it was hoped by the Governor that, as that part of the country is open and comparatively destitute of any bushy, ravines, which could afford cover for a Kaffir enemy, the united force of Europeans and natives, thus located in the new district, would be able to defend themselves in any future emergency.

These arrangements, made by Sir George Cathcart in 1853, deprived the border Kaffirs and Tembookies of considerable tracts of country, which had been previously either fully or partially occupied by them. But the reader is requested to observe that this was the *first time* after the arrival of the British settlers that the Kaffirs had been subjected to any such forfeiture of their lands. It cannot therefore be truly said, as I have seen it affirmed in publications in England, that the destructive wars which have been waged since the British settlers were placed on the border, have been caused by seizing the lands of the natives for colonial use. For more than thirty years after the arrival of the English

settlers, no lands, excepting a very small tract on the Chumie River, which was added to the Colony after the war of 1846-8, were taken from the Kaffirs for occupation by colonists; the whole of these wars having occurred *before* any such extension of the colonial territory had taken place at the cost of the Kaffirs.

Having filled this chapter in performing a mere act of justice to my brethren the Wesleyan Missionaries, and my fellow settlers of the British settlement founded in Albany in 1820,—by showing that whoever may be charged with disregarding the just rights of the border Kaffirs, we have done nothing at any period to render such an allegation applicable against us,—I will reserve for another part of this work the expression of my views concerning the best modes for promoting the future welfare and happiness of those tribes, which, alas! while I write, are in a most painful and distressing condition, as the result of their resolute Heathenism, and the folly and infatuation of their principal Chiefs. The only excuse for the Chiefs that I can discover is, that the peremptory instructions of the Home Government compelled the Colonial Government to exhibit such weakness and vacillation in the policy pursued towards them, as seduced them into the fatal belief, that they could indulge the utmost licence of wickedness, and disregard of the rights of others, with impunity. And this apparent weakness—not any injustice or harshness—emboldened them to commit the most daring depredations, while blind to the fearful reaction against themselves which a better-informed people would have foreseen must inevitably result from such a course of behaviour.

I need hardly reply to the absurd allegations, often, however, urged, that the settlers desired these wars

because they occasioned a large military expenditure, by which they must have greatly profited. The answer to this is, that the merchants of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and the farmers in other parts of the Colony remote from the frontier, are the parties who derived the chief benefit from this expenditure. The settlers of the border, on the contrary, during these wars, were always exposed, whenever they occurred, to the imminent danger of losing their lives, or having their homesteads burnt down, their cattle, sheep, and horses carried off, and the fruits of their industry destroyed; while, if escaping with their lives, they and their families were driven from their homes, and compelled to be mere fugitives, seeking a refuge and resting-place, for one or two years. All this happened, in many cases, before they could with tolerable prospect of security return to their lonely homesteads and usual avocations, which they had to commence anew, as if just arriving in the country. I had manifold and painful opportunities, on these occasions, of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the distress and suffering of great numbers of the people. The Government felt compelled, on the occurrence of each of the wars, to constitute a "Board of Relief" for the principal sufferers, and to place considerable sums at its disposal, which were largely supplemented by very handsome contributions from Cape Town and other parts of the Colony, as well as from those residents on the frontier upon whom the pressure of personal loss and misfortune occasioned by the war did not rest. When in the country, I was always a member of the Board of Relief, and, in conjunction with the Rev. John Heavyside, the Chaplain of St. George's church, and other Ministers, aided by several benevolent lay gentle-



men,—I was accustomed to spend hours and days, from week to week, in the regular Committee business, which occupied us during and beyond the whole period of each war, in careful investigation of the separate cases, and in dispensing the requisite relief to the numerous sufferers. In fact, as the almoners of the conjoint bounty of the Government and benevolent public, we had to find lodgings for the homeless, clothing for the naked, food for the famishing, medicine for the sick, and coffins for the dead. With such personal experience the reader will not be surprised if I refer somewhat indignantly to the groundless insinuation, that the frontier settlers obtained advantage from these wretched wars, and therefore provoked and prolonged them.

True, indeed, some of the settlers were so fortunate as to be enabled to supply the Commissariat with forage and grain, while others, obliged to abandon their farms, were glad to take their wagons and oxen, and form part of the wagon-train essential for a British army; and of course they obtained war prices and war remuneration for their services: but how could these persons, if they had been even much more numerous, and their occupations much more profitable than they were, in any degree influence the Colonial Governors to induce them to adopt a war policy? The successive Governors were ever too dependent on Downing Street, and too anxious to give satisfaction to the Secretary of State, whose inclination and position always make him the advocate of a peace policy, to listen to any self-seeking settlers, on a question involving the serious responsibilities and heavy expenditure of a Kaffir war. No doubt Governors and Generals have sometimes complained, under the influ-

ence of some petty but momentary annoyance, that some persons on the frontier seemed to prefer war to peace for selfish ends; but these very remarks, whether just or not, only tend to show that they had no influence on the minds of our colonial rulers. It would be quite as reasonable to say that the war in the Crimea was brought on by the influence of the ship-owners and other leading Government contractors, many of whom made such large fortunes from that contest,—as to attribute the Kaffir wars to any supposed influence maintained by border settlers over the Colonial Government of the Cape of Good Hope.

I am sensible that this subject has already been discussed at a greater length than may be agreeable to some of my readers; but I would request them to remember that this chapter contains a rapid outline of many important events on the Kaffir border, between 1820 and 1855, a period of thirty-five years, terminating with the arrival of Sir George Grey to take charge of the government of the country. I do not wish to enlarge further. It would be easy to expand the subject by quoting a vast amount of documentary and other evidence; but the general reader will probably be satisfied with my declaration, that I have said nothing in this chapter which I am not prepared to prove in detail by undeniable evidence. If any one wishes to study at length the subject of these Kaffir wars, and to ascertain what was the conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and generally of the British settlers, in reference thereto; besides a careful perusal of sundry Blue Books, published by Parliament, and a "Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province," published by the editor of the "Graham's Town

Journal," 1836, it will be requisite to read a work published many years ago by my friend, the Rev. W. B. Boyce, entitled "Notes on South African Affairs," in which will be found much and valuable information. In the Appendix to that work, some documents may be seen, which dispose decisively of the charges which had been too eagerly adopted by certain persons against the Wesleyan Missionaries and British colonists. It is there shown that these Missionaries, in fact, only held the same opinions as those entertained by other Missionaries and Clergymen of established reputation, and, indeed, by all excepting a few of the Missionaries of one Society, whose principal and more prominent men had been misled into an erroneous view of these affairs, which, with small regard for our character or feelings, they propagated most industriously in the United Kingdom.

It is, however, a great satisfaction to myself and other Wesleyan Missionaries, that we have lived long enough to witness a great change in the opinions of some of the Missionaries referred to, and of many other persons, both at home and in the Colony. And thus we feel that the progress of events has made our justification to stand complete. Judging from recent proceedings and publications, I am happy to believe that controversy on this subject may cease. I would gladly have avoided all reference to it, but that in a book reciting the chief occurrences of my missionary career, it was impossible to avoid alluding to this matter without appearing tacitly to admit the truth of many grievous but groundless allegations against myself, and brethren, and friends, which still stand recorded in various books, written by popular and, in the main, deservedly influential authors.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### EXTENSION OF THE MISSION.

EVIL Effects of War—Missionary Resolves—My Visits to distant Stations—Seasons of Religious Revival—Periods of successive Revivals on this Mission—Excitement and physical Effects—Wise and considerate Treatment needful—Great Revival in 1837—Revivals produced valuable Agents for the Mission—Names and Characteristics of those who became Missionaries—Extension of the Mission in the Eastern Province—Stations in the Province previously to 1836—BATHURST—FORT BEAUFORT—Late Assistant Commissary General Smith—PORT ELIZABETH—UITENHAGE—CRADOCK—SOMERSET (EAST)—Difficulties of Itinerancy—COLESBERG—Incident that occurred to Rev. W. B. Boyce and myself—Its remarkable Results—BURGER'S DORP—QUEEN'S TOWN—Late Sir George Cathcart—KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—"British Kaffraria"—Rev. J. Brownlee—Wesleyan Chapels—Rev. George Chapman—Episcopal Church—A "Memorial" of Officers who were killed or died during the Kaffir War of 1846-7—FORT PEDDIE—Fingoe Settlement—Objections of some Persons against Missionary Labours in the Colonial Towns—Not applicable to the Wesleyan Missionaries—Never intruded where their Labours were not needed—*Subsequent* Extension of the Anglican Episcopal Church—Rebaptizing—Views of a young Clergyman respecting the Wesleyan Missionaries.

I WILL now resume the narrative of my mission, from the period of my return to Graham's Town in 1837. On our arrival, we received a most kind and cordial greeting from the people. But I soon discovered that the war which had desolated the country during my absence had left many sad traces of its evil influence, not only in much loss of life and property,

but also in the painful feelings which had been excited, and the great damage that had been done to the moral and religious condition of the whole community. None but those who live in a country which is the seat of war, can form any idea of the innumerable moral and social evils that arise out of a state of warfare. In many cases the schools had been closed, and public worship discontinued. Some chapels had been burned down and destroyed; and the population had been so disturbed in various parts of Albany, that the congregations were either entirely dispersed, or reduced to a few individuals. Not a few whom I had known as earnest Christians, had now become "weary and faint in their minds," while many of the best of the people were grievously discouraged.

The Rev. George H. Green and another Missionary had accompanied me from England as a reinforcement of the Mission; and together with the Missionaries then stationed in Albany, we resolved to give ourselves with special zeal and diligence to our great work, and thus strive to "build up the waste places," and under the blessing of God to revive the spirit of piety among the people. My duties, as General Superintendent, required that I should, soon after my arrival in the country, go on long journeys; first through Kaffraria, and afterwards beyond the Orange River, to visit the Missions in the Bechuana country. During these visits, I assembled the brethren for consultation on a variety of matters, having an important bearing on the interests of these Missions. The work within the Colony sustained no damage by my frequent absence on visits beyond the borders, since it was well sustained by my excellent colleagues, the Rev. Messrs. Cameron and Green.

We were not long suffered to continue in a state of discouragement; for it pleased "the Lord the Spirit" to favour us with "showers of blessing," whereby the Lord's "inheritance was refreshed when it was weary."

Seasons of revival seem to be specially needed whenever, from any cause, the Church has been brought into a formal or declining state. No doubt the fault rests with Ministers or people, or it may often be with both, whenever the Church is reduced to such a condition. If Ministers, Church officers, and people, were at all times watchful, prayerful, and in great earnest, we should never see the several Churches in such a state as to require special efforts and special grace to restore them to a lively and vigorous condition. How great is the Divine love and condescension, notwithstanding our too frequent instability and lukewarmness, in that, "while we call," He hears! He "turns again and revives us, that His people may rejoice in Him!"

Since the commencement of the Wesleyan Mission in Albany there have been *four* distinct periods at which special revivals of religion have occurred on a smaller or more extended scale. The *first* was in 1822, chiefly at Salem, when many young persons, men and women, were converted to God. The *second* season of revival was on a larger scale in the year 1830-1, commencing with the congregation at the first Wesleyan chapel in Graham's Town, and extending its influence to some of the country congregations. The *third* revival was of such a remarkable character, that for many years it was distinguished by the people as "the great revival." It began in the second chapel (Wesley chapel) in Graham's Town, in 1837, and extended to the natives of the congregation that worshipped at



the old chapel, and likewise to most of the Wesleyan congregations in various parts of the country. Hundreds of Europeans and natives obtained great religious benefit during these "days of grace."\* A *fourth* revival of religion occurred in the year 1857-8, since I have returned to this country; and there is abundant reason to believe that it has had a very extensive influence not only in Graham's Town, but on various Stations, and among all classes, both white and black. As a consequence thereof, at the ensuing Annual District Meeting a large increase of members was reported.

During the several revivals that occurred while I was in the country, there were occasionally some remarkable physical effects produced, the result of deep feelings, both of sorrow and joy. In some we witnessed the fear, the grief, the wailings of penitence, and in others the joyous ecstasies of the transition from "the spirit of bondage" into the "Spirit of adoption," whereby they could cry, "Abba, Father." (Rom. viii. 15.) We neither prayed for nor strove to produce these outward manifestations; but when they occurred in connexion with what from other "infallible signs" we knew to be a work of God's grace, what were we, that we should withstand God, or that we should presume to prescribe to Him whether He should work by the "still, small voice of His Spirit," or by the thunder and lightning and earthquake of His power? In many cases, no doubt, "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" but God's word, preached "in demonstration of the Spirit and power," is often "a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces;" while some-

\* Interesting details of these several revivals may be seen by referring to the "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" for the years specified.

times the rocks are so hard, that nothing less than a terrible process similar to blasting can rend them asunder. I will not say, however, that no impropriety or extravagance disfigured the progress of the good work. I am not careful to defend myself and my brethren in this matter. We were not unmindful of the evils incident to a state of great excitement among the people. There are many persons who, on these occasions, are truly awakened to an alarming sense of their spiritual condition; but who, from never having been accustomed to train or moderate the expression of their feelings, are apt to be wholly carried away by their emotions of grief or gladness, without giving themselves, for the time, any concern about the ordinary decorum and proprieties of public worship. I am no apologist for disorder; but I do think a judicious Pastor, if properly aided by the most spiritual of the people, will generally be enabled to guide the new converts aright in this matter. The sound judgment of experienced pastors and laymen may always be relied on: but although *all* mere extravagance and indecorum, whether of word or manner, arising from excited feelings, should be cautiously and promptly restrained; yet cold unsympathizing professors of religion, no matter by what name called, are not usually safe guides as to what is best to be done at such times to promote alike the honour of Christ and the good of souls.

Among the numerous individuals who were induced, during the several "times of refreshing," to devote themselves as decided disciples of Christ, and who have continued steadfast in their allegiance to Him, not a few have greatly served the cause of God in various capacities,—as Sunday-School Managers and Teachers, as Class-leaders

and Local Preachers, or as Stewards and Trustees of Chapels and other temporal concerns of the Church. Some have at various periods been employed as school-masters, catechists, and helpers, with great advantage, on our Missions among the native tribes of the interior; and it is remarkable that among those truly converted during each of the revivals of 1822, 1830, and 1837, there were certain young men who subsequently evinced, by their consistent piety, good sense, knowledge of Christian doctrine and duty,—combined with an “aptness to teach,”—such qualifications for public usefulness as have induced the Missionary Committee and British Conference, on the earnest recommendation of myself and brethren, to receive them into the ranks of our regular Ministry. They have proved to be a class of Missionaries not less remarkable for their adaptation to the peculiar character of our Missionary work in South Africa, than for their ardent zeal to spread “earnest Christianity” through the land.

It will gratify a reasonable curiosity in the reader, and at the same time be very pleasant to myself, to record the names of the excellent brethren to whom I now refer. They are the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, now of Palmerton, in the Amampondo Country, whose long and useful labours among the Heathen must be well known to all who are familiar with the Wesleyan Missionary Notices:—the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, who has greatly distinguished himself not only as a well furnished preacher of God’s word, but especially by his fluency in the Kaffir language, and his valuable aid in the translation of the Holy Scriptures into that tongue:—the late Rev. Jeremiah Hartley, who died while on a Mission in the far interior:—the Rev. John Bailie, a zealous Mis-



sionary, now stationed in Namacqualand:—the Rev. W. Sargeant, who preaches fluently in three languages, and is now in charge of our native congregation at Graham's Town:—the Rev. J. P. Bertram, a plodding and indefatigable Missionary among the native tribes, who is at present most usefully employed in the management of the Industrial School and Mission among the Tembookies at Lesseyton:—the Rev. C. White, now stationed in Kaffraria:—and the Rev. J. Daniel, now employed in the Bechuana Country, but who was converted to God and called to the Ministry at a more recent period. Besides the above named, there were two others, one of whom has entered the Civil Service as an agent of the Government, and the other no longer "followeth with us;" but both of whom were in their day very useful labourers in the Lord's vineyard; and, while now pursuing a separate course of action, are, I trust and believe, earnestly endeavouring to do good in their respective spheres among the natives with whom they reside.

It is remarkable that about this time there arose numerous calls for the extension of our labours into those regions, where many of our friends and hearers had been induced, on the departure of the former Dutch occupants, to settle themselves. Hence, from the year 1838, a period commenced during which our Mission within the limits of the Eastern Province of the Colony obtained a great extension, being introduced and established in many places where we had either never before laboured, or had only occasionally visited and preached the word of God. In going after the people of our charge, and thereby obtaining access to many others who were at the time destitute of religious ordinances in their own

language,—we simply followed what appeared to be an opening and call of Divine Providence.

It will serve to place the history of the Mission more clearly before the reader, if I now succinctly narrate the leading circumstances connected with the establishment of the various Stations within the Eastern Province of the Colony, subsequently to the events referred to above. Previously to the war of 1835, we had commenced chief Stations at Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, and Somerset; but the latter place was, after a time, abandoned, in consequence of the appointment of a Scottish Presbyterian Minister for the Dutch Reformed Church, who was willing to provide for the spiritual instruction of the people. The population of Somerset being at that time very limited, and the calls in Kaffraria requiring more Missionaries than we could supply, we were induced, perhaps rather prematurely, to transfer the chapel to the Dutch Reformed Church, and to withdraw our Missionary. On my return to the Colony, therefore, in the year 1837, Graham's Town, Salem, and Bathurst, were the only places where we had a resident Minister; and I have already narrated the circumstances connected with the formation of our congregations at Salem and Graham's Town.

BATHURST is a village most delightfully situated on the southern slope of a range of green hills, in the very centre of Lower Albany. The extreme beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, and its central position in the district wherein it stands, renders it a convenient place for the residence of a Magistrate; and as Lower Albany has recently been formed into a separate division, called the Bathurst division, the

Magistrate is now, likewise, a Civil Commissioner. There is, also, an Episcopal church at this place, erected on a conspicuous and well-selected site, of sufficient dimensions for the congregation. It is built with such just proportions, and in such an appropriate style of architecture, as to present a pleasing object to the eye. This village church, together with the character of the surrounding scenery and buildings, serves to remind an Englishman of many a rural spot in his own country of surpassing beauty, and associated in his mind with some of his most pleasing recollections. I used to preach at Bathurst occasionally, from the time when the first inhabitants dwelt in tents on their building lots. These services were continued by myself and brethren, with fluctuating success, for several years; until, in the year 1832, we built a chapel; and afterwards made this place the residence of a Missionary, who has charge of other chapels and congregations in the surrounding district. Port Frances is distant only a few miles; and should the public works now being carried on at the mouth of the Kowie secure a suitable harbour, the importance of this Circuit, where already much good has been effected, will be greatly increased.

FORT BEAUFORT.—This place is situated on the lower portion of the Kat River, and, as its name imports, was originally a military post, established with a view to protect the country from the incursions of the Gaika Kaffirs. Being a very important military position, its value as such has been rendered apparent to all during the existence of hostilities. On the return of peace (1835), the surrounding country very soon attracted a mixed population to its rich and beautiful sheep walks and cattle pastures. Hence the Government found it requisite to







establish a Magistrate at Fort Beaufort, and to attach a considerable district to his jurisdiction, which is now known as the division or county of Fort Beaufort. There were some individuals among the troops and the camp followers who were members of our Society, and, on their earnest invitations, we used to visit them, and preach to them as opportunity allowed. I preached at this place on my way into Kaffraria in November, 1823; but it was not until 1833 that the Minister in Graham's Town began to visit Fort Beaufort regularly once a month, the distance being about fifty miles, through a very rugged and bushy country, over roads that at that period were scarcely passable, and intersected by rivers which were without bridges, although often flooded during the rainy season. The journey was neither a pleasant nor a safe one; but the Missionaries cheerfully undertook this labour for the sake of some hundreds of their countrymen, both military and civilians, who were destitute of the means of religious instruction; there being, at that period, no Chaplain or other Minister of religion resident on the spot, "who might care for their souls."

Some pious officers and soldiers, aided by a few civilians, soon erected a small temporary chapel; and here the services were held, whenever a Missionary or Local Preacher visited the place; while, at other times, they held meetings for prayer and religious edification among themselves. This was the state of our affairs on my first visit to Fort Beaufort, after my return from England in 1837. Seeing that the place and congregation was likely to grow in importance, I took measures for the purchase, at a small cost, of an eligible site, on which, at some future day, to erect a chapel and school;



and I appointed one of the two young Ministers, who had accompanied me from England, to reside here, with instructions to try and build up the small English congregation; to form one or more congregations of natives in the village and neighbourhood; and to itinerate among the English settlers, who were rapidly establishing themselves on farms in that new but promising district. One or two excellent Local Preachers soon went to reside within the limits of the Fort Beaufort Circuit; and with their aid and the Divine blessing this place gradually rose into much importance as a centre of usefulness.

The Rev. George H. Green was the first Missionary stationed at this place, and during his residence a chapel was erected; being, at that time, the only place of worship in the town. Among the friends who greatly aided in obtaining the means for the erection of this chapel, was the late John J. Smith, Esq., who had himself been one of the British settlers, but, shortly after his arrival, entered the commissariat service, and by his excellent character, great talent and energy, rose rapidly through the various grades of that branch of the civil service of the army; so that, at the time of his death, which carried him off in the midst of his days, he had attained the rank of Assistant Commissary-General, and was in charge of the whole commissariat department on that frontier,—a most responsible and onerous office. He had been converted to God under our ministry at Graham's Town, and became a very decided and earnest Christian. While zealous in the discharge of all his military duties, he felt himself constrained to "confess Christ before men," and to render all the aid in his power, in the promotion of every project which

he deemed likely to advance the cause of true religion, in the place where Divine Providence had cast his lot. Some years after the erection of the chapel, a substantial school-room was built, which, besides affording accommodation for the English Sunday School, is let to the Government, for the purposes of the public Day School, during the week-days. A second chapel, on another site, was erected under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Impey, in the year 1849, and is used by a considerable congregation of natives, for whose benefit Divine worship is conducted in their own language; while a Sunday School is regularly held within its walls, and other means of instruction are afforded to the natives during the week-days. Several smaller congregations, European or native, are now under the care of the resident Missionary at Fort Beaufort.

PORT ELIZABETH.—The rise and progress of this very important place, on the shores of Algoa Bay, have been adverted to in a previous part of this volume. As already narrated, my first sermons in the Eastern Province were preached here, and I frequently received applications from the earliest English inhabitants to obtain a Wesleyan Missionary for their rising town; but a Clergyman having been appointed, and the London Society's Missionaries from Bethelsdorp, only a few miles distant, having also begun to devote their attention to the people of this locality, it did not appear to us that we were at that period called to send a Missionary to reside on the spot. Port Elizabeth is distant from Salem and Graham's Town about eighty and ninety miles respectively; but the Missionaries stationed at these places occasionally visited it for some years, and after my return from England it was

regularly visited two Sundays in the quarter. Several of our members having settled here, and others being desirous of regularly attending our ministry, and the population of the town, both European and native, steadily increasing, it was resolved to place one of our Missionaries on the spot. The Rev. John Edwards was the first Wesleyan Missionary appointed to reside at Port Elizabeth. The congregation assembled for some time in the lower portion of a house hired for the purpose; but in due season a suitable and substantial chapel was erected under the direction of Mr. Edwards, at a cost of more than £1300 sterling.

This chapel was dedicated for Divine worship by myself and the Rev. Messrs. Boyce and Edwards, in the early part of the year 1841. On examining the state of the building account, it was found that there was a large deficiency; but at a tea-meeting a proposal was made to grant a handsome sum from the "Centenary Fund" subscribed in the Colony, on condition that the friends would raise a similar amount, additional to their former contributions. This proposal was accepted, and the debt was reduced to about £400; which, by a second special effort, when the Rev. John Wilson was on the Station, stimulated by a generous offer of J. O. Smith, Esq.,—a leading merchant of Port Elizabeth, who, although not a Wesleyan, had rendered the cause much valuable assistance from the beginning,—was finally liquidated, and the premises freed from debt, thereby leaving the surplus income of the chapel available towards the support of the Minister. Since that time, the congregation has erected a school building attached to the chapel, for the accommodation of the Sunday School, and to supply



convenient rooms for Prayer-meetings and other purposes. The cost of this additional erection has been also defrayed by the people.

From the first, the Missionary stationed at Port Elizabeth regularly visited UITENHAGE. In this pleasant and picturesque town, the head of a district, and which is situated on the Zwart Kops River, about twenty miles distant from Port Elizabeth, we have a chapel and small house for a Minister. The work has been in some degree retarded in consequence of the Society not being able to maintain a resident Minister. The members and congregation, however, have shown their anxiety to enjoy this privilege, by making some liberal proposals to meet the pecuniary difficulty; and I trust this town, next to Graaff Reinett the oldest in the Eastern Province, and in every point of view important as a centre of usefulness, will henceforward constantly have a resident Wesleyan Missionary.

CRADOCK.—This town is about one hundred and twenty miles north of Graham's Town. It was originally established as the seat of magistracy and centre of a large district of wealthy Dutch farmers. The village was very limited in size and population for many years; but since the establishment of many British settlers in the town and district, the population of the place has greatly increased. It is now the chief mart and centre of business of a most valuable wool-producing district, and possesses a thriving trade. The Wesleyan Missionaries preached here at stated intervals previously to the appointment of a resident Missionary. I visited Cradock, on my way to the Bechuana Country, in 1837. The Civil Commissioner, whom I had previously known in Albany, kindly entertained me for a few days at his

house. The late W. Gilfillan, Esq., had married the eldest daughter of the late C. Thornhill, Esq., at whose house near Port Frances, at the mouth of the Kowie River, I used frequently to preach during my earlier labours. During my stay at Cradock, the Government school-room was lent for the purpose of worship; and I preached to the English inhabitants, who afterwards urged me to make some arrangement to provide for their spiritual wants. The Rev. John Taylor, a friendly Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, was too much occupied with his own very large charge to be able to devote attention to the English and the native residents of the town. As soon afterwards as practicable, I arranged a plan to secure the occasional visits of our Ministers to this place; and when the Rev. John Ayliff was subsequently appointed to Haslope Hills, being the nearest Missionary, I committed to him the duty of taking Cradock under his pastoral care, aided by the occasional visits of the Rev. George Green from Fort Beaufort. Under the superintendence of Mr. Ayliff a liberal subscription was raised towards the erection of a chapel, which was speedily built on an excellent site, which had been previously purchased for the purpose under my direction.

The following extract from a letter which I wrote, dated Graham's Town, April 1st, 1842, reports the progress of the work. The Rev. Thornley Smith was appointed as a temporary supply for Cradock, and was thus the first resident Missionary in this place. At the following District Meeting, however, the Rev. John Edwards was removed from Port Elizabeth to reside at Cradock, and took charge of the infant cause, which now required the constant oversight of a resident pastor,

qualified to preach both in Dutch and English. On a visitation journey to several Stations, in which I was accompanied by the Rev. W. B. Boyce, we took in our round the town of Cradock, in the month of March, 1842. On this occasion we preached the sermons at the dedication of the newly-erected chapel. The circumstances were reported by me at the time in the following terms:—

“After visiting Haslope Hills and neighbourhood, and settling a variety of matters of great importance to the Mission, but which would be tedious to detail, we rode to Cradock, which is from ninety to one hundred miles from Haslope Hills. Here we found the new chapel ready to be opened for public service. I and Mr. Boyce, with the Rev. Mr. Taylor, Minister of the Dutch Church, preached the opening sermons. The chapel is small, but neat; and it stands on land in the very centre of the village. There is ample room for a much larger chapel, preacher's house, garden, &c., whenever the time shall come for further erections. The village of Cradock is now rapidly rising in importance; many English have settled in it, and in the neighbourhood, including several families connected with us in Albany. Many of the Dutch inhabitants of the town have shown a most friendly feeling towards us; and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, their Minister, has given unequivocal evidence that he hails our brethren as fellow-labourers in a great work. The contributions of all classes of the inhabitants to the chapel were handsome; the collections at the opening services were liberal; and a special effort was made at the tea-meeting, by which the entire debt on the premises will be reduced to about £100 sterling.”

The work continued to progress, till at length the first chapel was devoted to the use of the natives, for whose benefit services are conducted in the Dutch and Kaffir languages; and the English congregation, during the pastorate of the Rev. G. H. Green, built for themselves a more suitable place of worship, at a cost of some



thirteen hundred pounds. This very handsome chapel was dedicated to the service of God by the Rev. Messrs. Ayliff and J. Taylor,—the former preaching in English, and the latter in Dutch, on the occasion. The contributions to the building fund had been munificent, and the voluntary offerings at the opening services amounted to more than one hundred pounds.

After Mr. Edwards reached his Station at Cradock, he was soon invited to visit SOMERSET (EAST), where he speedily collected a congregation, who were glad to receive his ministrations as frequently as he could visit them. At length he was removed from Cradock to this town. We were greatly indebted to the help afforded us in this place, on the recommencement of the Mission, by Mr. James Cawood, and many of the British settlers. A small but neat and convenient chapel was erected at Somerset for the English congregation; a Minister's house was subsequently purchased, and adjoining this house a small school-chapel was built for the use of a native congregation. The Missionary residing at Somerset preaches in several parts of the surrounding country; and a most important portion of his work consists in periodical visits to a district near the Sunday's River, at the northern extremity of the division of Uitenhage, but situated nearer to Graaff Reinett than to its divisional capital. This neighbourhood contains many farms which have been purchased by a number of English settlers who, at different times, have migrated from Albany. William Carey Hobson, Esq., J.P., a near relative of the never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Carey, of the Serampore Mission, was among the first of the English who purchased these lands from the Dutch farmers, their former occupants. From the first

he established domestic worship, and invited his neighbours to Sunday services; and, at the earliest opportunity, solicited the visits of such of our Missionaries as were within reach of this somewhat remote and secluded district. The lands are of great value, comprising extensive sheep-walks; and various English families were subsequently attracted to the neighbourhood not only by its suitability for carrying out their views as sheep-farmers, but also because they saw an English community gradually forming which could enjoy the regular visits of a Wesleyan Missionary, and the great benefits likely to result to themselves and families from the establishment of Christian ordinances among them. The visits of the Missionary involve a good deal of toil and fatigue, especially at some seasons of the year; but this has been cheerfully endured by the several Missionaries, for the sake of a worthy people who are not likely to receive frequent pastoral visits from any other class of Ministers. A numerous body of coloured people, who are employed in various ways by these British settlers, also receive much instruction and attention from the Missionary on his visits, and from Messrs. Hobson, Robinson, and other zealous Christians. A considerable number of the settlers and their families, and also of the coloured people, are accredited members of the Society.

It will afford the reader some idea of the nature and difficulties of the long journeys often undertaken by Missionaries in the more sparsely inhabited parts of the country, if I insert, in this place, extracts from a letter of the Rev. John Edwards, dated at "Somerset, East, April 11th, 1849." No man has had greater personal experience of the difficulties which he describes than this

excellent Missionary; and although the extract is long, yet the reader will find it very interesting, and containing a graphic description of the toils encountered by those who undertake journeys on horseback, especially in some districts of Southern Africa.

"There is one item in our expenditure which I shall remark upon; one which, if we take in the aggregate in our District, may appear large; I mean the item of *Horse Expenses*. Now it must be borne in mind, that, after all that has been done, or can be done, it is, and will be, an item of great expense. And this arises from circumstances peculiar to this country, which no device of ours can obviate, and over which we can have no control. *We* do not forget—and we believe *you* do not forget—and our Christian friends in England *must* not forget—that whilst we are Methodist Missionaries, we are Methodist *Itinerant* Missionaries. Here we have a field—a wide field—and that wide field must be travelled over, in order to fulfil our high calling of God to the Church and to the world. And that field cannot be travelled without the *aid of horses*.

"Many of the Circuits in this country are very extensive. This arises from the scattered state of the population. In this Circuit the Missionary resides in Somerset, a little town delightfully situated. In it we have a very neat chapel for the English congregation and society, free of debt; also a smaller one for the Kaffir and Fingoe congregation. In these the Missionary preaches three times every Sabbath,—twice to the English congregation, and once to the Kaffirs. Almost every week between the Sabbaths he is in the country parts of the Circuit, more or less. In the country the congregations consist of English, and those who speak the Dutch and Kaffir languages. And not unfrequently the Preacher no sooner finishes the English service, than he commences in Dutch or in Kaffir, to another congregation: both being assembled at the same time, the one waiting until the service for the other is concluded. But it may be, and has been, asked, in order to lessen the expenses in those extensive Circuits, why those who are desirous of the Missionary's labours do not send horses and fetch him to



their localities. There are many who are both able and willing to do this. But how are they to know the exact time when the Preacher can come, and when, having sent a horse some fifty or sixty miles, he is performing duty in another direction? 'Send a letter,' says one, 'and let the person know that you will be there at such a time.' The letter may reach him in three days, or it may be in three weeks. 'Where is your Plan?' says a Preacher of an English Circuit; who does every thing by rule, and where everything can be worked by that rule. A Plan! For whom would you make it? For yourself? In some of those Circuits the Missionary is alone: or, if he has one solitary Local Preacher, he lives some fifty miles away; and he tells you that on account of his numerous engagements, he can only attend to such and such places; and that only now and then; and that he will go when he can; and it may be he will be there on the 14th of the month, or it may be on the 28th, or even not at all. This is no reflection intended to be cast upon this class of worthy and useful labourers; but the circumstances of the country in many respects will not allow it to be otherwise. A Plan, I know, in an English Circuit is good and necessary, even to let the people know when they may expect their Preacher, and the Preacher can be there at the day appointed, and by the time he comes the people are assembled in the chapel to witness his ascent into the pulpit. Very different here! The Preacher must in some instances wait a day at a place, before the people from various parts in the neighbourhood can be collected. If you make a Plan to let the people know that you will be there at such a time, who can depend on doing so? You have your horses saddled, and yourself ready to mount; the rain descends in torrents; you are prevented from going on that day. On the morrow you start. After a few hours' ride, you arrive at a river; it is full, level with its bank, rolling down with fearful rapidity; to swim it would be madness in the extreme; to seek for a bridge would be folly; no eye has ever seen one erected on its banks. Return you must, or wait until it is down; that may be within one, or it may be within four days, or even more. You cross it at last. You then proceed. Soon you are overtaken by rain, and in a short time you are drenched:

to the skin. You are obliged for miles and miles, in the midst of the pitiless storm, to walk your horse, fearing at every step he will slide and fall under you, owing to the bad state of the roads. You may at last find a bush, or a rock, under which you are glad to get, to have, for a time, a temporary and a partial shelter :—to find a house in some parts is out of the question. You arrive at last at the place, so long after the time your Plan stated. Where is the use of your Plan? Who can depend upon fulfilling its appointments at the time? But it must not be thought by this, that the Wesleyan Missionaries of Southern Africa do neither live by rule nor work by rule: no men work more methodically than they do, when method is practicable, and can be carried out. What, then, is the object aimed at in the foregoing remarks? It is to show that if a Wesleyan Missionary is expected to do his work in the Circuit, he must have the means of doing so in his own hands, or at his immediate control. Or, in plain language, he must have such an allowance as will enable him to keep horses to do the work of his Circuit at the time when circumstances will allow him to do it, and without depending upon the uncertain assistance of others.

“ ‘Why have the Missionaries horses at all? Why do they not walk to their appointments?’ says an aged father in the Christian ministry, who in his younger days was accustomed to go the round of an English Circuit, which comprised a whole county. Nearly nineteen years of labour in the Mission field has taught me by experience that the bracing air of old England is not to be found in Southern Africa. The writer well remembers, that within the six years he laboured as a Local Preacher in England, he often walked from twenty to thirty miles, and preached three, and sometimes four, times on a Sabbath. And afterwards, being appointed to an English Circuit where much walking from one place to another was required, he has been far less fatigued than he has been in this country with having ridden only forty miles under a scorching sun.

“But why does the Missionary, in some of these Circuits, require so many horses? Because, first, not only are some of his appointments at a great distance from the Circuit town, but the roads to them lie through a dreary country,

and but thinly populated; and it is neither safe nor prudent for him to ride alone. He may travel for hours, and not meet with an individual. His horse may knock-up; he may fall; the rider may be thrown, and in the fall be injured; and where is he to obtain assistance, if he has not a man with him? Imagine, also, a Missionary with a day's journey before him of some fifty or sixty miles; and at every two or three hours' ride, as is necessary here, he has to saddle off his horse, knee-halter him, (that is, tie his head to his knee, that he may not run away from him in the wilderness,) and then saddle him up again: what would the Missionary be fit for by the time he arrives at his journey's end, when perhaps he has to preach that same evening after his arrival, if he had not a man with him to take off a part of the fatigue of his journey? No man ought to travel any considerable distance in this country without three horses; one for himself, one for his man, and a led horse. If it be again asked, 'Why so many horses needed?' it can be answered, secondly, Because, in travelling, we have not here, as in England, every where inns, where you can get your horses baited at every few miles, and thus keep up their strength and spirit. Here they are on their journey at intervals knee-haltered for a few minutes, to roll, eat a little grass, and to drink a little water, if there be any; but often, neither the one nor the other is to be had. The day closes; the rider turns into some house to tarry for the night. What becomes of his faithful steed? Is he put into a comfortable stable, and well fed, after carrying his rider some forty or fifty miles? No; often he is tied up to a bush, or to a wagon outside, under the pelting storm and blowing wind, for the night, without a mouthful to eat; nor can a mouthful of anything be procured for him. The next day, perhaps, he fares no better; his work is no less, his food is no more abundant. Perhaps the following week the Missionary has a similar journey before him, in order to perform similar duties. Are these same horses fit for the labour of that week, which have done so much and suffered so much in the toil of the journey of the past? Here, then, you will find an answer to the question, why so many horses are needed in some of the Mission Circuits. One of three things must be chosen: first, a sufficient number of horses must be pro-



vided to relieve each other; or, secondly, the Missionary must remain at home, and neglect his Circuit work, until his horses are recruited; or, thirdly, he must work the faithful animals to death by not allowing them rest and time to renew their energies, which are prostrated by long journeys and scanty fare.

“‘Ah!’ says one, ‘you see these Missionaries cannot go to their country appointments without their horse. Surely they must have a very easy life of it.’ Let us see if it be so easy. Set an appointment before him of some seventy miles from his home; he starts in the morning, with a native man, and, it may be, with two or three horses. He travels briskly for about two hours. His horse exhibits symptoms to the experienced rider that he ought to be saddled off. It is done. In twenty or thirty minutes he is again in the saddle. Two or three hours more of brisk riding, the horse betrays symptoms of languor and thirst: the latter he must endure until water is arrived at. At last water is found, the animal is relieved of the weight of his rider; again saddled off, and a little rest as before. Again on the road; the sun now scorching hot, the rider suffering under its relaxing influence; sweat running off in a stream from the poor animal. Two hours or more of this, and signs of fatigue and parching thirst return, both upon the horse and his rider. By and by a pool of water is in sight, which is neither very clear nor very sweet. No better to be had; can go no further; dismount, saddle off, knee-halter. The moment this is done, the thirsty steeds dash to the pool of water. *Keer, keer; de paarden zyn te warm!* is vociferated: ‘Turn, turn; the horses are too warm!’ meaning, to drink. The rider and the man descend to the pool, and get the first drink of this muddy water, ere the horses make it more puddled by splashing in it to cool themselves. The rider seats himself on the ground, under the rays of the burning sun, without a breath of air; he exclaims, ‘How weary I am!’ Is this easy? He sits a little; his thirst is somewhat allayed; the symptoms of an appetite begin to approach him. If he, or his kind wife, or both, are as thoughtful as they ought to be, he will find packed up among his things something to allay for a time the cravings of hunger. Scarcely done, and rested, before he casts his

eyes towards the north-west; the dark clouds are seen rising, which portend an awful storm. His horses are hastily saddled; but before he is long on the road, the rain descends; every thing about him is saturated. In this state he goes on until night approaches. By and by, he comes to a house. If the proprietor and the traveller are strangers, the following questions are interchanged:—*Wie zyn u, als ik vraag mag?* ‘Who are you, if I may ask?’ *Als u blyf, kan ik af zadel?* ‘If you please, may I saddle off?’ The best which such a family can afford is given. A request is made that the Missionary will hold a religious service for the family. That being performed, a bed is prepared for him either on some sort of a sofa, or on the ground. He lies down, and feels thankful for such a kind reception. He ruminates in his mind, and says, ‘Well, about fifty miles of the seventy are accomplished.’ Whilst thus thinking, the wind begins again to blow, and the rain descends in renewed torrents; and he finds that the house in which he is, is neither wind-proof nor waterproof; for both find their way inside in plentiful abundance. Whilst thus situated within, he remembers that his horses, which carried him fifty miles in the previous day, under the burning sun and pelting rain, are still exposed to the furious elements, and without food, and is more concerned for them than for himself. The writer has had many a waking hour, owing to the latter circumstance. The day dawns; the saddles are again put on; a start is made. In two hours the horses are again saddled off; a fire is made in the open air; a tin beaker, with a little water in it, is placed thereon; a little tea is thrown in—a cup of which is drunk with a piece of bread—and this forms the breakfast. He then proceeds until he reaches his appointment. Having finished his work there, he returns as he came; only, perhaps, with this exception: the rain and storms which pelted him on his way out, would raise the rivers to prevent his return home; on the banks of which, perhaps, without a house to shelter him, he would have to wait until it was fordable. Thus ends a Missionary journey in Africa. Answer, then,—Is it easy?

“‘But,’ says one, ‘those are not deserving of the Gospel who make no effort to lessen the expense and trouble of its being taken to them; for it is a maxim, “God helps those

who help themselves." Yes; and Mr. Wesley says, 'Go not only to those who need you, but to those who need you most.' Now, those need the Gospel most who, on account of sin and ignorance, have their understanding so darkened, and their hearts so hard, that they can neither see the danger of their state, nor appreciate the value of the Gospel; and the glory of the Gospel must be shown them, in order that they may appreciate it; and you must manifest a care for their souls, in order to get them to be concerned for themselves. 'Faith comes by hearing.' There are thousands in this country, who in this respect are the most needy.

"These remarks are not by way of complaint, but by way of caution. We do not complain of our position as labourers in the Mission-field. We believe we are where we ought to be. We have everything here which Christian Missionaries need for the exercise of their piety and talents. Do we want scope for our energies and labour? Here we have it. Do we want success? The great Head of the Church has been pleased to give us that measure of it, by which we are encouraged. Do we want contentment and happiness in our work? I trust we have found that too. There are those to be found who are willing to labour in the field as long as God shall vouchsafe to them strength; who feel at home and happy in their work. But take care that your Missionaries are not too much discouraged. This they will be, if their energies are crippled: then the work of the Lord will be retarded. Their hands will hang down, and their spirits will faint, when they see so many openings of usefulness in their Circuits, and cannot enter them for want of means."

COLESBERG.—This is a small town and seat of Magistracy for an extensive division, the most northern in the Colony, being bounded along its whole extremity by the Orange River. The division is still chiefly occupied by Dutch farmers; but its trade is principally conducted by English and Germans, who, with the usual proportion of various tribes of natives, form the inhabitants of the town. In the year 1838,



an earnest request was presented to me by several respectable English inhabitants, including the Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of the District, to send them a Missionary. At the same time they promised to erect a chapel, and contribute liberally towards his support. On the arrival of several additional Ministers we were enabled to comply with their request. The Rev. William Holden was the first Missionary appointed to this place, which is about 250 miles north of Graham's Town; and as the Stations beyond the Orange River were formed into a separate District, Colesberg became a part of the newly formed Bechuana District. Mr. Holden laboured with great zeal and diligence. Under his superintendence, a suitable chapel was erected. Most of the English families attended the services; and some of them, as well as other persons, original inhabitants of the town, were united as communicants and members with our Church. At a subsequent period, a house was purchased for the residence of the Minister; and on the same premises a school-chapel has been erected, in which the native people receive religious instruction, in the languages which they understand.

In connexion with this Mission, I may mention an event which will serve to show how God's providence and grace alike combine to prepare, frequently as the result of "small things," agents for promoting His great cause in the world. In the year 1830, the Rev. W. B. Boyce and myself left Graham's Town on a journey to Kaffraria. We were mounted on horseback, and we had also a horse, led in hand, on which were packed our cloaks and sheep-skin blankets, with other *et ceteras* needful for travellers in this part of Africa

for at that time we were often under the necessity of sleeping under a bush, in the open air. Immediately on emerging from the valley in which Graham's Town is situated, our course lay over an extensive and elevated plain. Cantering along this flat, our pack-horse became restive, and very soon the straps and "*riems*," or ox-hide thongs, by which the pack was bound on his back, got loose; and as the cloaks now dangled about his flanks, the animal was still further excited, and began to kick and plunge in a very furious manner. Very soon cloaks, blankets, kettle, and drinking tins, with sundry articles of food, were flying in all directions. We had to dismount and collect the scattered articles again, and bind them once more on the horse, as best we could: but we happened to have at hand no very good contrivances for this purpose; and this vexatious and wearisome process had to be repeated several times in the course of a comparatively short distance. At length, wearied with fatigue, and finding we could not reach the "bush," where we had designed to sleep, before it would be too dark to proceed on our way, we resolved to turn aside from the road, and seek a lodging at one of the settlers' cottages in the location now called Collingham, where likewise we hoped we might obtain some additional "*riems*," or thongs, needed for securing the baggage on our pack-horse. I had but a very slight personal acquaintance with any of these settlers, and therefore we rode to the nearest house. I knew, by my frequent experience of the hospitality of the British settlers, that very little ceremony was requisite; and, going to the door, we simply explained the difficulties in which we were placed, and asked for a night's lodging, hoping, in the morning, to

put our traps into such order that we might be able to proceed without much difficulty.

Mr. and Mrs. Wentworth gave us a most hearty welcome. We spent the evening with them; and, of course, our inquiries were directed to the religious state and circumstances of our host and hostess. There was no church or chapel nearer than Graham's Town,—seven miles distant. They were so situated, that they had been rarely able to attend worship, or to hear a sermon, since their arrival in the Colony ten years before. Their neighbours were all in the same condition; and the children were growing up without instruction. Sunday was merely a day of gossiping and pleasure. "Well, but when I return to Graham's Town, will you invite your neighbours, if I come and preach to you?" Mrs. Wentworth's eyes brightened at the idea, and she answered for herself and husband, that they would be delighted to enjoy the opportunity. After a substantial supper, followed by our reading the Scriptures and offering prayer, our kind hosts made what the settlers call "a shake-down" for us; that is, partly with the aid of our cloaks and skin blankets, and something additional of their own, beds were improvised on the earthen floor, where we slept soundly; and in the early dawn of the morning Mr. Wentworth gave us coffee, and rendered us the assistance we needed to secure our traps on the pack-horse; and thus, after again reading the Scriptures and offering morning prayer with this family, we proceeded on our way.

So far the reader may see nothing remarkable: a similar occurrence may have happened to many a South African traveller, both before and since. But this incident produced fruit. The result of our little adventure



was that, on my return to Graham's Town, I took an early opportunity of visiting this location. Our kind hosts had informed the people what we had said during our unexpected visit to their house, and the consequence was, that they were prepared to receive me. By the help of several zealous Local Preachers, we soon collected a small congregation, whose contributions, aided by donations from friends in Graham's Town, enabled us to erect a small place of worship, which still stands, like a little country church, in the midst of this location. Here the people have ever since been accustomed to assemble for Divine worship, and, aided by teachers from the town, their children receive instruction in the Sunday School. Much good has been done in this village. Mrs. Wentworth was among the first members of the small Society formed at this place; and, after some time, her husband embraced the truth, and became an earnest Christian. Some years afterwards, he saw reason to follow what appeared to be an opening of Providence for the benefit of his rising family, and removed to Colesberg. Here he supplied the very want that was felt, viz., a suitable person to act as Steward and Class-leader, and generally to assist the Minister in the infant state of the work there. He was found, in all respects, a most valuable coadjutor; and both in reference to the English and native branches of the work he has rendered most important services to the Mission. Little did my friend Mr. Boyce and I imagine, when we were so plagued by a restless horse, and our want of a better outfit of saddlery, that Divine Providence would thus overrule our compulsory turning aside from our path, and that we were thereby unconsciously opening the way for the introduction of Gospel ordinances into Colling-

ham, where not a few of the residents and their descendants have been truly converted; who, in other places to which they have removed, are "serving their generation according to the will of God." As little did we foresee that we were likewise permitted in this way to sow seed which was to spring up, and, being transplanted, bear abundant fruit, in the far distant and, at that time, utterly barren soil of Colesberg. But God says, "My ways are not your ways, neither are My thoughts your thoughts."

BURGHER'S DORP is a town of comparatively recent establishment; it is the capital and seat of magistracy for the large division called Albert. This place, like Colesberg, is not far from the Orange River, being some seventy or eighty miles higher up that noble stream. Colesberg, Burgher's Dorp, and Aliwal, on the banks of the river, have been more or less included in our Missionary operations. Each of these places ought to have a resident Missionary, but, from our lack of men and means, we have not hitherto been enabled to meet the wishes of the inhabitants, often expressed, that we would appoint a resident Missionary to each. The friends of the cause erected a small chapel in Burgher's Dorp, and the Rev. P. Smailes was stationed at this place for some time; but the lack of more Missionaries, and the exigencies of our extended work, have rendered it necessary for the present to withdraw the resident Missionary, and this town is now only occasionally visited. It is to be hoped that we may be enabled once more to place a Missionary on the spot. Meantime, it is probable that the Bishop of Graham's Town either has already, or will shortly, supply them with a resident English Clergyman.

**QUEEN'S TOWN.**—This is the chief town of the new division called by the same name. It is a fine tract of country, which was for a time occupied by some wandering clans of Bushmen, and certain tribes of Tembockies. The latter were driven out of it by the events of the war of 1850-2. At the close of that severe struggle, Sir George Cathcart resolved to plant an English Colony on that part of the north-east boundary, which should be strong enough to protect it from further warlike inroads of the native tribes. Many of the younger and more enterprising British settlers and Dutch farmers, from the older divisions, were induced to migrate to this new division; where, under special conditions, referring to the future defence of the country, small but very valuable farms were granted to them by the Government. It is already become a well inhabited and prosperous district. Previously to the war, we had two Missionary Stations for Tembockies and other native tribes in this country; and as the natives, under the care of our Missionaries, all proved faithful, and rendered good service to the Government during the war, they remain in undisturbed possession of their lands. Some attempt was, indeed, made to remove them; but I strongly represented the great injustice which would thereby be done, and I believe similar representations were made by the chief official at the time in the division. My statement of this case was submitted by the Government for the consideration of the Hon. W. Porter, the Attorney-General of the Colony; who reported that the claim I had made for the Society and the natives, regarding these lands, was of so conclusive a character, that it was impossible to deny its justice; and the Governor assured me that he



would, on no account, be a party to depriving those people of the lands which they held.

When the late Sir George Cathcart returned from one of his earliest visits to this district, he desired me to call on him at his residence in Graham's Town. He wished to converse with me on some matters respecting that part of the border. Before the interview closed, His Excellency showed me a plan of the proposed Queen's Town, and, pointing out a building lot in a central and good situation, he said, "Mr. Shaw, I propose to transfer this plot of land to you, as a site for a Wesleyan chapel and school-house." Of course, I thanked His Excellency. He then said, "But you know I am a Churchman, and I ought not to forget my own Church: I have therefore made a reserve of a similar lot for the Bishop," pointing it out to me on the plan. His Excellency pleasantly added, "Although I have made this reserve for the Episcopal Church, *I know you Methodists will be there first.*" The fact is, His Excellency had derived this idea from conversing with some of the settlers, who in general entertain the belief, that no English settlement would be long established in the Eastern Province without receiving either the visits or the regular labours of a resident Methodist Missionary. It did, in fact, happen, according to the Governor's prediction, that the Methodists were the first on this new ground. The Rev. E. D. Hepburn, who was at that time the resident Missionary at Lesseyton, only a few miles from Queen's Town, soon visited and preached to the people; and, conjointly with the members and friends of our Church whom he found there, took the initiatory measures for the erection of a chapel. At the subsequent District Meeting, on the

earnest request of the rising community, accompanied by a liberal offer towards the support of a resident Missionary, the Rev. Henry H. Dugmore was appointed to take charge of the work in this new section of the country. Under his zealous and able efforts, the work, in all its departments, was consolidated and extended; and this Mission is likely to prove one of the most important in its bearing upon the religious interests of all classes of the people who occupy this fine country. A chapel has been erected, and also a Minister's house. There is a growing English congregation, and likewise a place in which the natives assemble for worship. The resident Missionary also regularly visits various localities within the bounds of his extensive Circuit.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.—This rapidly rising town is the capital of British Kaffraria, and, as such, is not included within the Cape Colony; but as the Missionary work here is precisely the same in its character as that in the colonial towns already mentioned, I deem it best to include it in the present sketch. This place was made the head-quarters of the troops by Sir B. D'Urban, after the war of 1835, when he proposed to retain the country under the British Government, with the designation of the "Province of Queen Adelaide." But as the arrangements of that far-seeing ruler were unfortunately set aside by the Home Government, the Province was abandoned, and the Kaffir Chiefs were encouraged to resume their uncontrolled authority over the country and their people. During the war of 1846-7, Sir P. Maitland found it requisite to resume military possession of King William's Town, and it was retained by means of a still stronger military force by his successor, Sir H. Pottinger. On the arrival of Sir

Harry Smith, peace was made with the Chiefs in 1848; and, by the arrangements then concluded, the province was once more taken under British military rule. The country retained the name given to it by Sir P. Maitland, and is now called "British Kaffraria." Since this period King William's Town has continued to be a large military depôt. The town was early laid out, and building lots were leased to tradespeople and others who might find it a suitable place for business, either with the troops or the surrounding native tribes. A very considerable trade has consequently arisen, and the English and native population has gradually increased, till King William's Town now ranks with some of the principal towns of South Africa for population and importance.

The site of this town is on the spot originally chosen by the Rev. John Brownlie, of the London Missionary Society, and on which he established a Mission Station. Mr. Brownlie was led to select this place from two considerations: first, it was situated in the midst of the Amantinde tribe of Kaffirs, of whom his native assistant, the well-known Jan Tshatshu, was a leading Chief; and, secondly, the precise spot was selected from the probability which Mr. Brownlie observed, that the waters of the fine river which flows past this land, could be led out for the purpose of irrigating the soil. Many years before the Government selected it as the site of King William's Town, this laborious and excellent Missionary, with great judgment and personal labour, assisted by the Kaffirs resident on his Station, had succeeded in the difficult work of cutting a channel for the water through much rough and rocky ground for a considerable length, and thus



brought the water to the site selected for the buildings and cultivated lands of the Mission Station. When it was resolved to make this place a large military post and the capital of British Kaffraria, for which its central position and other great advantages render it peculiarly adapted, it was easy for the military engineers to adopt and improve on the plans of the Missionary, and thus to render the water supply sufficient for all purposes, whether alimentary, sanitary, or agricultural, which can be required for a town whose population may, in time, become equal to that of any other place in Southern Africa.

At the earliest period I perceived that King William's Town must grow into a place of great importance, and exercise a commanding influence over the whole district of Kaffraria; and therefore, partly by grant from the Government, and partly by purchase, I obtained good sites for a chapel, Minister's house and school. The Missionaries from Mount Coke, distant a few miles only, visited the rising town, and preached there. The Rev. John Wilson was at length placed here as a temporary supply. On my passing through King William's Town, in 1848, on my way to the interior, we made some preparatory arrangements for the erection of a small chapel. The foundation-stone of this first chapel in King William's Town was laid soon afterwards by Sir Harry Smith, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of persons, both civil and military. Of this building the Rev. J. W. Appleyard wrote as follows, in May, 1849:—"A chapel had been commenced previously to my arrival, and is now finished. It is a neat and substantial stone building, capable of seating about one hundred and fifty persons. The opening services were well attended, and the collections, considering the com-

mercial depression of the times, satisfactory. The cost of the erection has been in round numbers £400, of which we shall be able to pay off at once £300, thus leaving a debt of £100, to meet which we have a sinking fund arising from the income of the chapel. Most of the sittings are let, and I trust that, from the rent of these and from other sources, we shall be able to liquidate the above debt in the course of a year or two, so as to allow the income of the chapel to go to the credit of the Circuit."

These anticipations were in due time fully realized. This chapel continued to be occupied for several years; but as it had become much too small for the growing congregation, the building with its site was sold, and the amount obtained was expended, together with very liberal additional subscriptions made by the people, in the erection of a much larger and more suitable place of worship, which has been for some time past used by this numerous congregation. This great and unavoidably costly undertaking, the outlay being more than £2000, was commenced and completed during the pastorate of the Rev. George Chapman, who laboured with a combined zeal and prudence, which, under the Divine blessing, surmounted many serious difficulties. By his judicious plans and efforts, well sustained by the local Building Committee, the work was completed. It is pleasing to reflect that a handsome Wesleyan chapel has thus been erected in this capital of British Kaffraria. Near it also stands a residence for the Missionary, and a suitable building, which is used as a place of worship for the Kaffirs and Fingoes, where the service is conducted in the Kaffir language.

Some time after the erection of our first chapel in

King William's Town, the Bishop of Cape Town took measures for erecting a very handsome church, said to be the most correct in its ecclesiastical style of any church in this part of Southern Africa. It is not large; but, notwithstanding the advantage of obtaining much skilled labour at a cheap rate from the Royal Engineers, it cost a great deal of money, most of which was contributed in England, especially by the relatives of several British officers who were killed during the war of 1847. These lamented gentlemen were cut off by Kaffirs, who had stealthily surprised them in a very impracticable country, into which curiosity, or the pursuit of game, had led them to a considerable distance from the camp, under a delusive supposition that none of the enemy were in the neighbourhood. The Kaffirs never surrender as prisoners, nor do they make prisoners of war: hence these unfortunate officers, overpowered by numbers, and cut off from all possibility of retreat to the camp, were barbarously murdered. Their remains were afterwards recovered; and, together with the body of Lieutenant Nash, who had died in consequence of severe exposure in the service, and had been buried inside the old chapel at Wesleyville, were all removed, and interred in one grave or vault, over which the tower of the building erected under the directions of the Bishop was built; and thus this beautiful structure will stand as a "Memorial Church." May the Gospel preached therein prove "glad tidings of great joy" unto all classes of the people, and thus bring "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men!"

FORT PEDDIE.—This is a military post of considerable importance, as it commands the line of communication between Graham's Town and King William's Town,



from which places it is nearly equidistant. The post was at first established not merely to secure the line of communication, but it was also designed to be the centre of the Fingoe settlement formed by Sir B. D'Urban in 1835. The troops stationed here afforded protection to these Fingoe tribes, from the time of their first leaving the Kaffirs and placing themselves under the British Government on the invitation of Sir B. D'Urban. In another part of this work I will refer more definitely to the case of the Fingoes; but I wish to state here, that the Wesleyan Mission at Fort Peddie was established at first, mainly with a view to the religious instruction of that class of the natives, many of whom had, in fact, come from our Stations in Kaffraria. But in this, as in all other cases where the circumstances called for it, Divine worship was established likewise at the military post, for the benefit of the English troops.

For a time the Rev. W. Shepstone, who was then resident at the Beka Station among the Kaffirs of Pato's tribe, a few miles distant, used to visit this place. Mr. R. Walker, an English catechist, was at length appointed to reside here; and afterwards it was constituted the head of an important Circuit, of which the Rev. W. B. Boyce took the charge. Under his superintendence the work, which had already prospered, was much extended. The course of events has brought a considerable number of English settlers into the Fort Peddie district, who now occupy the lands formerly possessed by the Amagonakwaybie Kaffirs. The village has likewise received an addition to the number of its inhabitants, and its trade has proportionately increased: hence Mr. Tainton, one of the original British settlers, who for a long period

was engaged as an assistant on our Kaffir Mission, but for many years has resided here, and who has always greatly aided our work in this neighbourhood, purchased a site, and offered a liberal contribution for himself and family towards the erection of a chapel. Many of the other inhabitants evinced a lively interest in the matter, and also contributed handsomely to the building fund. The chapel was therefore commenced, and after some delay, arising from the great difficulty of obtaining contractors who would undertake to complete such public buildings in a proper manner, in a reasonable time, and for a moderate charge, the work was finished. The chapel is substantial, has a neat appearance, and is well suited to the wants of the place.

This chapel has been for some time past well attended by a respectable congregation of English civilians and tradespeople, and also by a portion of the troops stationed at the adjoining military post. The Missionary resides at the native village called D'Urban, in honour of the benevolent Governor who founded the large Fingoe settlement in the neighbourhood. It is more than a mile distant from the village of Fort Peddie, but the Missionary celebrates Divine service at both places every Lord's day. Considering the vast extent of the Fingoe settlement, and the scattered manner in which the English settlers live on their farms, it is greatly to be desired that a second Missionary could be appointed to this important Station, who might take entire charge of the English department of the work, while the other Missionary devoted himself exclusively to the Fingoes. The necessity for this has long been seen and felt; but the want of men and means has hitherto rendered it impracticable. Meantime, one

of the Salem party of settlers, Mr. James Kidd, a catechist of excellent character, and devoted to his work, labours diligently in the southern part of the Fingoe settlement called "Newtondale," where he has been made very useful.

Before concluding this chapter, in which I have presented to the reader a very condensed view of the gradual extension of the Wesleyan Mission into the greater portion of the Eastern Province, I must notice a kind of objection which has been occasionally raised against our efforts among the colonists. It has been insinuated by certain persons, some friendly, and others hostile, to the Missionary enterprise, that the Missionaries and Ministers of various denominations have displayed a disposition to place themselves in too close proximity to each other, by occupying Stations together in the smaller towns and thinly-peopled districts of the Eastern Province, instead of going beyond the boundaries of the Colony, among the wild and barbarous tribes of the interior. No man acquainted with the history of the Wesleyan Missions in this country can possibly apply such a remark to them. No other Missionaries in Southern Africa have run greater hazards, or endured greater hardships, than some of the Wesleyan Missionaries, in their early attempts to take the Gospel to the "regions beyond." This remark applies alike to the Missions among the Great Namacquas and Damaras of the western side of the continent, the Bechuana tribes in the central regions, and the Kaffir tribes on the eastern coast of Southern Africa. In all these immense regions of Heathendom, there are vast districts of country in which they were the *first* Missionaries who took the light of Gospel truth among those dark tribes.



In some instances, indeed, they were the first Europeans who visited the tribes whither they penetrated, as "messengers of the Churches." When these undeniable facts are considered, it will hardly be requisite to defend the Wesleyan Missionaries from the insinuation, that they pursue sectarian objects, and prefer a residence within the colonial boundary, rather than devote themselves to the greater toils and risks incident to the propagation of the Gospel among the rude native tribes of the interior.

In truth, we were never intruders on any other men's line of labour, even within the Eastern Province. Long before the Dutch Reformed Church multiplied its Ministers, we often preached to the Dutch farmers in various parts of the frontier districts, baptized their children, and celebrated their marriages; but as soon as Ministers of their own Church were appointed, we gradually discontinued these extra pastoral duties, and were not sorry to be able to devote our attention more fully to those who had a greater claim on our labours, namely, the English settlers, and much neglected natives of all classes, residing in the principal towns and villages of the Colony; who, at the time when our Missions were extending among them, had no other class of Ministers that provided for their spiritual need. The principal towns and villages in the Eastern Province where Wesleyan Missionaries now reside are, Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Fort Beaufort, Fort Peddie, Somerset, Cradock, Colesberg, Queen's Town, and King William's Town in British Kaffraria. In none of these towns or villages, with the exception of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, was there a single resident Clergyman of the English

Church, or a Missionary of any denomination, when we commenced our labours. It is true that, in some cases *immediately*, in others not long after we had appointed Ministers to the above towns and villages, Ministers and Missionaries of other denominations were placed by the side of the Wesleyans in villages where the amount of population hardly warranted such a proceeding. But we never complained of this, although we had erected chapels involving pecuniary liabilities far beyond the amount of the voluntary contributions of the people, towards which we received no assistance either from the Missionary Society in England or the Colonial Government; and we had, consequently, to struggle against these difficulties with congregations for a time lessened in number by the withdrawal of a portion of our hearers, many of whom, very naturally, on the appointment of Ministers of their own Churches to reside in these several towns, drifted off to the newly-formed congregations.

After the Clergy of the English Church had been increased in the Colony, and most of the towns specified above had received a Clergyman,—in almost every case supported wholly or in part from the colonial revenue,—I had a conversation with a much and deservedly respected dignitary of the Episcopal Church, during which I complained that some children had been re-baptized who had been previously baptized by our Ministers when their parents had no means of obtaining baptism for them from Clergymen of their own Church. I also remarked on the want of catholicity which such a course betrayed, as well as its contrariety to the opinion of some of the highest authorities in the Church of England, and of the most reliable interpreters of canon law,

who held that baptism, even by laymen, ought never to be repeated. Our conversation gradually and naturally turned upon the juxtaposition of the Methodist and Episcopal congregations in the several parts of the province; and my reverend friend expressed to me the pain he felt on seeing in various villages that men could not be induced to worship together, but that everywhere "altar was set up against altar." I knew that the meaning of this remark was, that the Wesleyans ought to retire from those places, and leave the work of providing spiritual food for the English inhabitants to the "Apostolical" and "Anglican Church." Now, saying nothing of the great reason there was to doubt whether the evangelical doctrines of the Homilies and Liturgy were preached by some of the Clergy, and of the natural unwillingness of a thoroughly Protestant people like the Methodists to leave all religious teaching of the English inhabitants to Clergymen, who, however excellent in character, are in many instances greatly inclined to an excessive ritualism, and especially to an elevation of the Lord's table of "remembrance" into an "altar of sacrifice;"—yet circumstances enabled me to reply, that, if the "setting-up altar against altar" in the several villages was an evil, the Wesleyans were not responsible for it. If any were intruders and dividers of congregations, certainly we could not be regarded as such in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope. Being first in the field, it was hardly reasonable in those who came so long afterwards, to reproach us for being there before them.

A very young Clergyman, soon after his arrival in the country, ventured indeed to *say*, what the respected dignitary referred to merely hinted, that the Wesleyans had



no doubt done a great deal of good, and their labours in the country, in the absence of the regular Clergy, were very praiseworthy; but he thought that since the Church in South Africa had obtained proper form and completeness by the appointment of Bishops, the Wesleyans ought to leave the field to the care of the Clergy, now more numerous in the Colony, and proceed on their useful course as pioneers among the native tribes beyond the boundaries. When this expression of opinion was reported to me by the gentleman to whom it was uttered, I really did not trouble myself to find an answer. Nor shall I attempt to do so in this place. But having recorded an outline of the facts connected with the extension of our Missions in the Eastern Province, I leave them to the consideration of the reader. We are certainly not contemplating the abandonment of a field of labour on which we have expended so many prayers, tears, and toils,—besides many thousand pounds of money, contributed from time to time by our friends,—now that the desert is becoming a fruitful and productive field. With us it is indeed, in a case of this kind, “a very small thing to be judged of man’s judgment;” but “I speak as unto wise men: judge ye” (readers) “what I say.”

## CHAPTER IX.

### CHURCH EXTENSION IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE.

**REINFORCEMENTS of Missionaries—Methodist Centenary, 1839—Appointment of newly-arrived Missionaries—Right Missionary Spirit—My numerous Occupations—General Superintendency—Progress of the Work in Graham's Town—New and larger Chapel required—Resolve to build—Commemoration Day of the British Settlement—Its Observance in 1844—Commemoration Chapel—Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone—Names of Trustees, &c.—Impediments to the Erection—Dedication Services—Reduction of heavy Debt—Commemoration Collections—Continued Growth of Congregation—Two more Chapels—Foundation Stone of West Hill Chapel—General Progress throughout the Province—Native Africans—Day and Sunday Schools—Ecclesiastical Grants—Results at Salem—Government Grants not regulated equitably—Liberal Contributions of Wesleyan Congregations—Other Denominations of Christians—Increase in the Numbers of Ministers and Churches or Chapels—Character of Ministers residing in the Province—Conclusion.**

THE great extension of our Mission into nearly all parts of the Eastern Province, which I have described in the preceding very condensed statement, could not have been effected unless the number of the Missionaries had been increased by fresh reinforcements from home. But the ever-growing liberality of the Methodist people enabled the Missionary Committee to send two young Missionaries with me on my return in 1836; and these were followed by the Rev. Messrs. J. Richards and William Impey in 1837. The Rev. Messrs. Cameron and Giddy were transferred from the

Western Province, and the Rev. W. H. Garner was sent from England, during my absence from the District. It was, however, the extraordinary munificence displayed by our numerous friends during the year 1839, on occasion of the celebration of the Centenary of Methodism, that encouraged them to respond, to a much greater extent than I had anticipated, to our representations of the desirableness of sending more Missionaries for South-Eastern Africa. At the Conference of that year, the Rev. Messrs. F. Taylor, Gladwin, Pearce, Holden, J. S. Thomas, J. W. Appleyard, John Smith, and Thornley Smith were appointed, and in due season sent forth as a reinforcement for the extensive District under my superintendence. The Rev. Messrs. Archbell and W. J. Davis also returned at the same time from a short visit to England, rendered necessary by affliction and other domestic causes. While this large increase of our number enabled us greatly to extend our Mission among the native tribes beyond the borders of the Colony, it likewise furnished us with men to occupy the colonial Stations which about that time presented inviting openings for usefulness, among large numbers of people who were nearly destitute of all other means of religious instruction. Thus our Mission in South-Eastern Africa derived a great impetus and benefit from that noble Centenary movement, which so largely tended to promote the vigorous action of various important institutions, connected with the HOME operations of Methodism, as well as to advance the interests of the great Missionary cause.

In referring to the observance of the Centenary among the Societies and congregations at home, and



the munificent donations presented as thank-offerings to the Lord, for personal, family, and national benefits conferred by the agency of Methodism during one hundred years, I am gratified to be able to state, that our people in South-Eastern Africa entered deeply into the spirit of the movement. They showed by most unmistakeable signs a warm interest in all that concerned the welfare of our religious community; while their gratitude for manifold benefits conferred upon them and theirs by a Wesleyan Ministry in that part of the world, was displayed in an amount of generous gifts to the great cause, not surpassed, when their relative circumstances are considered, by any Societies or congregations in England. I cannot more clearly exhibit this fact than by inserting an extract from a letter which I wrote, under date August 23rd, 1839, reporting the commencement of the Centenary celebration in Graham's Town.

"On Sunday last, August 18th, 1839, Mr. Boyce and myself, according to the previous arrangement of the provisional committee, preached sermons with reference to the *Centenary* of Methodism, availing ourselves of the opportunity of bringing under review the personal character and labours of the Rev. John Wesley, and the rise, progress, and present state of the Wesleyan-Methodist Societies throughout the world. On Tuesday evening, from four to five hundred members of our Society and congregation sat down to tea in our large new school-house. You will readily believe, that to me it was a very interesting sight, to see so large a Methodist family collected together, when I say, that I distinctly remember forming the first class in this town, in 1820, which consisted of not more than seven members. The number who would have gladly attended the tea-meeting, would have been much greater, had it been possible to obtain room for them within the building. After the tea-meeting we adjourned to the chapel, which was crowded by those who had obtained cards of admission. I

need not detail the manner in which the meeting was conducted. After the devotional services, and an address from myself, explanatory of the reasons of this Centenary observance, and also of the manner in which the Centenary Fund is to be appropriated, I left the whole affair with the people themselves, and very soon various respected individuals rose in rapid succession, and spoke, in a spirit of pious gratitude, of the innumerable benefits conferred upon themselves and families, by the Divine blessing on Wesleyan agencies. Blank papers, with writing materials, were ready to record the thank-offerings of the people;—these were very freely used; and I was called upon to read paper after paper, containing a statement of the sums intended to be presented to the fund. One highly respectable friend gave £75, others from £30 to £50 or £60, and, at an early period of the meeting, an aged member of the Society, from the West of England,—whom, with his sons, God has greatly prospered since their arrival in this country,—presented, for himself and numerous family, £150 sterling. These good examples were very readily followed; and you will, I am persuaded, be surprised to hear, that the amount contributed, before the close of the first night's meeting, reached the sum of £1884. As it became late, I was obliged to adjourn the meeting to the next evening, so as to give further time to some of our friends, who had not had an opportunity of consulting with their families as to what offerings they ought to present. The adjourned meeting was held last night, (August 22nd,) and was conducted in the same manner as on the preceding evening; and it was also characterized by the same pious, happy, and harmonious feeling. The additional amount subscribed at the adjourned meeting was about £264; making the total amount contributed at this Centenary Meeting for Graham's Town, not less than £2150 sterling. In this sum are included several handsome donations from country friends residing in the Fort Beaufort Circuit; but it will yet receive a considerable addition from the country places, where we design shortly to hold Centenary Meetings, which will be attended by several Ministers and other friends, who have been appointed as deputations for that purpose."

"I question whether, even in England, any Society, com-

prising only a similar number of individuals, has made a greater effort than this,—always, of course, excepting the individual munificent donations of hundreds and thousands from the more wealthy members of our United Society. You appear to have had happy meetings throughout England and Ireland; but happy beyond description must they have been, if, in this respect, they exceeded our meetings here. However, be this as it may, I feel confident, that in no place could the devotional feeling be higher, than it was among the Wesleyans of Graham's Town, when, assembled in their chapel, they sang, as with one great united heart and mighty voice, in a fine old psalm tune,—

'All hail, "a hundred years ago!"  
And when our lips are dumb,  
Be millions heard rejoicing so  
A hundred years to come!'"

From the total amount contributed, two thousand pounds were remitted to the treasurers of the Centenary Fund in England; and the remainder was applied, in grants, towards the erection of new chapels in various places; Port Elizabeth receiving the largest amount of assistance from this source.

The newly appointed Missionaries and their excellent wives all arrived safely at Graham's Town, on the 18th of March, 1840; and shortly afterwards we held a District Meeting at the Mission-house at D'Urban, near Fort Peddie, where the Rev. W. B. Boyce was in charge of that recently commenced Mission. At this meeting, which was attended by more than twenty Missionaries, after much and fervent prayer to God for direction, we deliberated upon and fully discussed the various points connected with the final disposal of our increased force of men. The result was, that the Colonial Missions, the Missions in the Bechuana District, and in the remoter regions of Kaffraria, were simultaneously increased and extended, and every man



proceeded, as speedily as circumstances would allow, to occupy the allotted sphere of his labour. I had much to do, and serious responsibilities to incur, in providing all these brethren with the indispensable outfits of wagons, oxen, horses, tools, implements, &c., without which it would have been impracticable and useless for them to proceed to their respective destinations. But my burdensome occupations were rendered comparatively easy and pleasant by the good spirit which pervaded the minds of the Missionaries, and the readiness they displayed to go anywhere, and do anything, so that they might be useful, and promote the great object of our Mission in "winning souls" for Christ.

The tone of feeling among these newly arrived Missionaries is well expressed in the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. W. J. Davis, April 23rd, 1840. In explaining his own state of mind at this time, I feel assured he was but describing the sentiments that actuated the whole party. "For myself, I go to this work not ignorant of the many trials and discouragements connected therewith; but, at the same time, highly encouraged with the 'signs of the times,' and looking for the accomplishment of those great and blessed promises of God's word which relate to the final triumph of the Gospel, and the subjugation of the whole earth to Him whose is the right to govern, and of the increase of whose kingdom there shall be no end. To be in any way instrumental in bringing about such a state of things, is at once the highest honour and the greatest bliss God can bestow on mortals. May we all henceforth live only for Him, who has given Himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time!"

From the increased efforts now put forth in various

directions, my mind was unavoidably and greatly occupied by a variety of cares and anxieties in the management of the temporalities of the Mission. I was obliged to take many long and toilsome journeys for the purpose of visiting the various Stations, and advising the brethren and people in a multiplicity of concerns connected with our work. We had chapels, school-houses, and Ministers' dwelling-houses to erect. I could obtain very little help from any quarter in the preparation of building plans, or in examining and checking estimates and expenditure on these various objects; and while the Missionaries kindly reposed unbounded confidence in me, they looked to me to provide, by grants, or loans, or by begging, for the deficiencies in the means which they raised in the several localities in aid of these undertakings. It is not easy for the managers of our church affairs in England,—now so systematized and placed in their several departments under the care of highly competent committees of Ministers and lay gentlemen,—to comprehend the perplexing character and diversified nature of the anxieties and duties which from this period, and many years afterwards, devolved upon me. I was in effect, for a long period, the steward of every Circuit, universal trustee, and chief manager of the finance of all chapels and schools, or other buildings; treasurer of the Auxiliary Missionary Society for the District. The entire accounts of the expenditure of the money granted by the Missionary Society were kept by me. In order to provide for the personal claims of each Missionary, and the authorized miscellaneous expenditure for schools, buildings, &c., on his Station, I was compelled, for a long time previously to the establishment of local banks in the

Colony, to act as the personal banker of every Missionary, who was obliged to draw upon me for sums of money as he required them, and as he could negotiate the requisite drafts, there being no available means of making regular remittances to any of the Stations. Of course, this involved the necessity of detailed accounts with each individual Missionary, Teacher, or other person employed in any department of the work. It likewise became my duty to examine, in conjunction with my brethren, all the accounts at the Annual District Meetings, and to send a full, clear, and detailed statement, every year, to the Mission House in London, of the expenditure of all moneys granted by the Society, and drawn by me upon the general treasurers, for the support of our extended Mission. To these engagements were added constant correspondence with the Missionary Secretaries in England, and with every Missionary in the District, often at great length, on the affairs, spiritual and temporal, of the Mission; besides very frequently the requisite attention to many communications, to and from the various officers and functionaries of the Colonial Government, on questions either affecting the interests of the native tribes, or the propagation of the Gospel among them. After this recital, the reader will readily believe that my time was fully occupied, and my mind kept in a constant state of activity; for in addition to all that I have mentioned above, in "that which came upon me daily, the care of all our Churches," in South-Eastern Africa, I had regularly to preach on the Lord's day, and, when in Graham's Town, very frequently to a large and respectable English congregation, which had been accustomed to listen to me for many years.



I have entered into these details not in any spirit of boasting. Alas! I must, and do, with no affectation of humility, confess myself an unprofitable servant. But my object is to give to the reader some idea of the office and work of a General Superintendent in the infant or early state of our Missions, more especially in countries and among peoples similar to those where my lot was cast. Some Methodists and Ministers inconsiderately object to this office; but they evidently do so either in utter ignorance or obliviousness of the fact, that it is one of the very few offices which now exist among the Ministers of Wesleyan Methodism, that were created by the venerable Wesley himself. His large knowledge and experience of men and things taught him that whether Methodism is to have an order of Bishops or not, the necessities which unavoidably arise in an infantile state of the work in most countries, require that some individual should be placed in a position, not indeed of pre-eminence over his brethren, as if he belonged to a higher order of Ministers, but simply authorizing the exercise of larger powers, and conferring the privilege of being "in labours more abundant," so that he may watch over and conserve the frequently feeble and desultory movements of a new Mission. As the work gains strength and permanence, it is highly desirable, in the case of our Missions at least, that the General Superintendent should steadily endeavour to mould the rising Societies and congregations, as nearly as may be, after the same model as that which now obtains in England. Hence, for some years before I left the country, and quite as soon as circumstances would admit, I advocated the gradual introduction of a system of Committees, including a full

complement of lay members, to aid in the management of our temporal and other affairs; and improvements in this direction will, I trust, be steadily introduced,\* as circumstances will allow, in all the Districts, till at length the Wesleyan Missions will stand forth in their full proportion, and with a well defined and complete system of discipline, as the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

To enter into minute details concerning the progress of the work in the various Stations within the Eastern Province, after their first establishment, as already recorded in a previous chapter, would render this book much larger than I design it to be, or than would be likely to prove interesting to the general reader. I will, therefore, chiefly confine myself to some statements relative to the further progress of the work in Graham's Town, where I principally resided. In the course of years, congregations of other denominations of Christians were formed, and also prospered; yet a gradual increase of the population, and the watchful care exercised over the numerous children and young persons connected with our Sunday Schools, combined to furnish us with a constant supply of new hearers to occupy the places of the dead, and of those who from time to time emigrated to other parts, or sought other spiritual pastures; and thus the numbers of our English and native congregations not only kept up, but steadily increased.

In consequence of this increase, the want of more chapel accommodation was from time to time urged upon our attention. When the second chapel, called "Wesley chapel," was opened in the year 1832, the original chapel was assigned for the use of the native

congregation; but, about the year 1841, "Wesley chapel" had become much too small to meet the numerous applications for pews, on the part of those who desired to worship with us. Some time afterwards a plan was projected for its enlargement, and raising the walls to a sufficient height to correspond with the increased area of the building; but on obtaining plans and tenders for this object, the trustees, after much discussion and consideration, finally agreed that the wiser, more economical, and better course would be to erect another chapel, of such dimensions that it would admit of a large increase in the congregation, and provide room for its growth during some years to come. The native congregation had been already divided into two parts: one portion, for whom Divine service is celebrated in the Dutch language, was removed into a suitable building that had been built for a school-house; but, being provided with some simple fittings, was made into a very convenient school-chapel, for the benefit of this class of the black and coloured community. The majority of our native congregations consisted, however, of Kaffirs of various tribes and nations, who could only be instructed through the medium of the Kaffir language, and they required more accommodation. Hence it was resolved to sell the original chapel, and, on the completion of the proposed new building, to transfer the Kaffir congregation to Wesley chapel.

The project of erecting a large first-class chapel, such as it was now thought requisite to build for the English congregation in Graham's Town, however desirable, was likely to prove an undertaking of such cost and magnitude, that I felt no small doubt and diffidence in entering upon it, seeing that I feared it might tax our



resources beyond our ability. There was a very serious difficulty in obtaining a proper site; for it was obvious that such a building as we contemplated ought to be placed in a central, and in all other respects suitable, locality. All the most desirable spots had long ago become private property, and land in the most suitable parts of the High Street, or principal and central street of the town, had attained a high value. The Trustees attempted to purchase one very convenient site, adjoining the western side of the recently erected Wesleyan Mission House, but failed; and we were at last compelled to purchase, at a cost of more than £2,000, a very eligible property on the opposite side of High Street, but which has in its front the whole length of the broad and handsome thoroughfare called Bathurst Street. There was a dwelling-house and store upon the property, the greater and more valuable portion of which had to be removed, in order to clear a sufficient space for the new chapel. This was a bold beginning. But a subscription list, comprising the promise of many large contributions from some twenty friends who consented to accept the office and responsibilities of trustees of the proposed chapel, and a very numerous roll of names, with handsome donations from nearly the whole of our people, ultimately justified the belief which I had begun to entertain, that we should be sustained in our undertaking; and in the year 1844 unexpected circumstances arose, which I will here narrate; for they materially aided our project.

In the early part of the year just named, a proposal was made, through the "Graham's Town Journal," to commemorate the arrival of the British settlers in Algoa Bay, in the year 1820. It was urged by various per-

sons that a public holiday, to be kept as a "Commemoration Day," would afford an opportunity for the mass of the original settlers and their descendants to assemble together; and after some combined public acts of devotion, wherein their thanksgivings might be offered to Almighty God for all His goodness towards them since they had come to dwell in the land, they could in social assemblages of various kinds talk over the past, and animate each other with good hopes and resolutions as to the future. The proposal obtained very general approval among the settlers resident in Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, and elsewhere. Committees were formed to make arrangements; and it was resolved that the "Commemoration Day" should be fixed for April 10th, being the anniversary of the day whereon the first party of British settlers, headed by Mr. Baillie, landed on the shores of Algoa Bay. In Graham's Town it was decided, with almost universal consent, that all denominations should assemble for public worship in one place; and that as I was the only individual in Albany who had come with the settlers in the capacity of Minister or Chaplain, I should be invited to preach the sermon on this occasion. St. George's church, now the cathedral, being the largest building, it was further resolved to ask for that place of worship for this purpose. There was some little demur to this at first; but the majority of the Episcopalian laity so entirely sympathized with the feelings of their brother settlers, that to refuse the use of the church would have produced painful collisions, which all were anxious to avoid. Hence a compromise was made, and it was agreed that St. George's church should be available; the Rev. John Heavyside, Colonial

Chaplain, was requested and consented to read the liturgical service, after which I was to ascend the pulpit, and preach the sermon. The church, which is a massive structure, was crammed in every part, including even the spacious aisles, and it was estimated that there were present not less than fourteen hundred persons, all British, and with few exceptions settlers or their descendants. Probably never before did a Methodist Minister stand under such circumstances in the pulpit of an Episcopalian church! But we had a truly "Evangelical Alliance" assemblage on that day. Without any compromise of our diversified principles, the vast congregation consisted of Episcopalians, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, and others, all glad, on such an occasion, to recognise each Christian community as a part of "the holy catholic Church," and to unite in common prayer and praise, while they called to mind their entire dependence on Almighty God, and reviewed His past goodness and mercy towards them as a people.

Many of the settlers were anxious to raise some kind of permanent memorial, which should tell to future generations that they wished to acknowledge the God of Providence as the Author and Giver of all the blessings they had been permitted to enjoy since their settlement in Africa. Various plans for carrying this into effect were proposed through the local journal; but none seemed to command general approval, and hence the 10th of April passed away without the adoption of any mode of giving lasting expression to the prevailing feeling of the day. In the course of the year, the trustees were much occupied in discussing plans, and providing ways and means, for the erection



of our contemplated large chapel. At a full meeting I eventually proposed that the foundation-stone be laid with suitable ceremony and devotional services on the 10th day of April, 1825; and, this day being the anniversary of the arrival of the first party of the British settlers, twenty-five years, or a quarter of a century, before,—that the chapel should be called “THE COMMEMORATION CHAPEL,” with reference to that event; thereby affording all our people throughout the country the opportunity of contributing their “thank-offering” in aid of the erection of this building, which from its intended strength and proportions would be likely to stand for generations to come. The Trustees unanimously and cordially agreed to this proposal; and as soon as we had announced our decision, increased and new contributions were promised, and successively paid, not only by our own people in all parts of the Eastern Province, but also by various British settlers belonging to other religious communities, who approved the idea of regarding the building as a noble memorial of the gratitude of the settlers for the Divine goodness towards them and their children.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of Commemoration Chapel was of a deeply interesting character, and excited much public attention. A full report of the proceedings was given, at the time, by the Editor of the “Graham’s Town Journal,” and was afterwards added to the volume entitled, “Memorials of the British Settlers.” It would occupy too much space to introduce the whole of this report, but I cannot deny myself the gratification of inserting a brief extract, which will at least serve to record in these pages the names of the first Trustees and other friends who performed a public part in the commencement of this great undertaking.

"The services commenced by the assembling of the children of the Wesleyan Sunday Schools, amounting to about five hundred scholars, and who a few minutes before eleven o'clock moved in procession from their school-house to the Wesleyan chapel, which was crowded, and where, as had been arranged, an address was delivered by the Rev. W. SHAW. The discourse was founded on Psalm xx. 5: 'In the name of our God we will set up our banners;' and was listened to throughout by a crowded congregation with unwearied attention."

"On quitting the chapel, the procession to the site of the intended new building was formed in the following order:—

Mr. GOWIE, Superintendent of Sunday School,  
Sunday School Banner and Union Jack,  
Sunday School Children,

THE AMATEUR BAND,

Preceded by a single Trustee, and followed by Trustees, two abreast, wearing in their coat button-holes white favours,

BANNER INSCRIBED,

"Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good-will towards men;"

Trustee, bearing copy of the Holy Bible,

Rev. W. Shaw,	} Wesleyan Ministers {	Rev. W. Shepstone,
" W. Impey,		" G. Green,
" T. Smith,		" J. Alison,

Mr. Blaine, Mrs. Shaw, Mr. B. Shaw,

Several Ladies, Friends of Mrs. Shaw,

George Jarvis, Esq., Solicitor, with Trust Deed,

W. Wright, Esq., Treasurer, G. Wood, Esq., with Plan of  
Edifice,

W. Lee, Senior,

Local Preachers, Leaders, and Stewards.

"On arriving at the ground the scene was most animating. The area of the proposed building was densely crowded by well-dressed persons of both sexes, over whom floated proudly the banner of England; while the beaming countenances of the juvenile part of the crowd, and the joyous air with which they moved to the sound of music to the spacious platform, which had been erected in the rear for their accommodation, was well calculated to warm the heart of all who wish well to the rising population of this settlement.

"The persons engaged having taken the several places allotted to them, the Rev. W. Shaw commenced the proceedings by calling on the Rev. W. Shepstone to engage in prayer, after which some verses were sung by the schools. The Treasurer, W. Wright, Esq., then exhibited a square leaden case, carefully soldered, within which he announced had been deposited an inscription, beautifully written on vellum by Mr. Gowie, as follows:—

*In the name of the Holy Trinity,*  
 IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF VICTORIA,  
 QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
 THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THIS EDIFICE,  
 TO BE SET APART FOR THE WORSHIP OF ALMIGHTY GOD,  
 AGREEABLY TO THE DISCIPLINE AND FORMS OF  
 THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH,  
 AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DOCTRINES OF SCRIPTURE,  
 AS SET FORTH IN THE WRITINGS OF ITS FOUNDER,  
 THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,  
 AND RECOGNISED BY THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE,  
 TO BE CALLED  
 THE WESLEYAN COMMEMORATION CHAPEL,  
 WAS LAID BY MRS. ANN SHAW,  
 WIFE OF THE REV. W. SHAW,  
 GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE WESLEYAN SOCIETY'S  
 MISSIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA,  
 ON THE 10TH DAY OF APRIL, 1845,  
 IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LANDING IN THIS COLONY  
 OF THE BRITISH SETTLERS OF ALBANY  
 ON THE SAME DATE,  
 TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO,  
 AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE PROVIDENTIAL MERCIES  
 WHICH HAVE MARKED THEIR FOOTSTEPS SINCE THAT PERIOD,  
 AND OF THE DISTINGUISHED GOODNESS OF GOD IN THE  
 GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.  
 His Excellency Lieut.-General, Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, K.C.B.,  
 Governor of the Colony.  
 His Honour Colonel JOHN HARE, C.B., Lieutenant-Governor.  
 The Honourable JOHN MONTAGU, Esq., Secretary to Government.  
 The Honourable WILLIAM PORTER, Esq., Attorney-General.  
 The Rev. JABEZ BUNTING, D.D., President of the Wesleyan Methodist  
 Conference.  
 The Rev. ROBERT NEWTON, D.D., Secretary.  
 The Rev. WILLIAM SHAW, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan  
 Missions in South Eastern Africa.  
 The Rev. H. H. DUGMORE, } Resident Wesleyan  
 The Rev. THORNLEY SMITH, } Ministers



## TRUSTEES:

WILLIAM COCK,	JOSEPH WALKER,
JAMES HOWSE,	WILLIAM WRIGHT,
JOHN CECIL WRIGHT,	GEORGE LEE,
JOSEPH CAWOOD,	JAMES POWELL, Sen.,
THOMAS COCKROFT,	MATTHEW BEN. SHAW,
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ROBERT GODLONTON,	CHARLES SLATER,
WILLIAM HARTLEY,	GEORGE WOOD,
ABEL WORTH HOOLE,	JAMES C. HOOLE.

WILLIAM WRIGHT, Treasurer,  
M. B. SHAW, Secretary to the Trustees.

"Besides the above were deposited in the same case, a copy of Wesley's 'Notes on the New Testament,' bound in one vol. with the Hymns now in general use; copy of the 'Memorials of the British Settlers;' specimens of the languages—namely, the English, Dutch, Kaffir, and Sichuana—used by the Wesleyan Missionaries in South-Eastern Africa; \* copies of the local newspapers of that day's date; and various coins of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria,—'whom,' exclaimed the Treasurer, 'may God long preserve!'"

"The case having been deposited in a cavity of the foundation stone, which had been prepared for its reception, Mrs. SHAW was then conducted to the bottom of the excavation by her supporters,—viz., her son, Mr. M. B. Shaw, and her son-in-law, Mr. H. Blaine; and a handsome massive silver trowel † having been presented to her by Mr. G.

\* "The text of Scripture selected on this occasion, and given in the four languages mentioned, is as follows:—

"'God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'—John iii. 16."

† "This trowel, the material of which is standard silver, was made by Mr. Thomas Radmall, of 28, Heereugracht, Cape Town, the inscription and decorative part being executed by one of the British Settlers of 1820. The order was given at a very late period, and it required great exertion in the maker to complete the task by the given time. To do this it was forwarded from Cape Town by post under the frank of the Honourable Secretary to Government, who, aware of the exigency of the case, most handsomely thus aided the parties in the accomplishment of their object, by which means the parcel reached Graham's Town on the afternoon previous to the day appointed for its use. It bears the following inscription:—

"Presented to Mrs. Ann Shaw, wife of the Rev. William Shaw, by

Wood, the customary form of spreading the mortar was very becomingly gone through by her, when the stone, calculated to weigh about two tons, was slowly lowered; the school children singing, accompanied by the amateur band, the following lines:—

‘Thou who hast in Sion laid  
The true foundation stone,  
And with those a covenant made,  
Who build on that alone:  
Hear us, Architect Divine!  
Great Builder of Thy church below;  
Now upon Thy servants shine,  
Who seek Thy praise to show  
‘Father, Son, and Spirit, send  
The consecrating flame;  
Now in majesty descend,  
Inscribe the living name;  
That great name by which we live,  
Now write on this accepted stone;  
Us into Thy hands receive,  
Our temple make Thy throne.’

“The stone having descended to its proper site, the mallet was used, and the square applied, as customary; after which declaration was made in due form that it was ‘well and truly laid.’ Mrs. Shaw then resumed her seat, when an address was delivered from the platform by the Rev. Thornley Smith.”

The erection of this chapel, thus auspiciously commenced, was retarded, after its walls had risen to a certain height, by some untoward circumstances; and meantime the Kaffir war of 1846 rendered it wholly impracticable to proceed with the building. All available hands were employed either in repelling the invaders, or in protecting the country from further inroads; while the price of provisions, and consequent cost of Settlers of 1820, on the occasion of her laying the Foundation Stone of the Wesleyan Commemoration Chapel, Graham’s Town, South Africa, April 10, 1845.

“On the reverse side:—

‘What hath God wrought!

Numbers xxiii., verse 23.’”

labour, rose to such unusually high rates, that it became impossible to proceed with the work ; and the contracts were consequently cancelled until more favourable times should return. The war and its immediate results did not pass away till 1848 ; meantime we were put to serious expenses in the form of interest on the first outlay, since, while hostilities continued, it was impossible to collect any large amount of the promised subscriptions ; and as no workmen could for a long period venture into the forests to cut timber, without great danger of being surprised and murdered by straggling parties of Kaffirs, we were induced to write to London for a roof, which was constructed there, and sent out to Algoa Bay. The cost of freight, and still more the charge for wagon hire from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, added very seriously to the unavoidably large expenditure for the building. However, as soon as circumstances favoured a recommencement, new contracts were made, and the chapel was at length so far completed, that we were enabled to dedicate it for the worship of God on the 24th of November, 1850. The proceedings connected with the opening of this chapel I reported in the following terms to the Missionary Secretaries in London.

" You will be glad to hear that our new chapel, called the Wesleyan Commemoration Chapel, in this town, has been dedicated to the service of Almighty God. The dedication services commenced on Sunday, the 24th of November, and extended over Sunday, December 1st. In the whole there were ten services, which were well attended, much interest having been excited among all classes of the community ; for, besides its great purpose as a place of worship, it is designed as a monumental building, in token of gratitude to God, for His goodness to the British settlers who landed on these shores in the year 1820. Amongst this class of the



community, with their descendants and family connexions, the feeling of deep interest was very widely extended, as will be evident when I inform you, that the public collections amounted to the noble sum of five hundred guineas, or £525.

"The building is in the pointed style, well sustained in all its parts. The front, from the level of the floor, is seventy feet high to the top of the centre pinnacle, and it is about sixty-three feet wide, including the buttresses. The interior dimensions are ninety feet long by fifty feet broad, and from the floor to the ceiling it is thirty-four feet in height. There are two side and one end galleries; and the building is capable of accommodating in great comfort a congregation of about fourteen hundred persons. Altogether, this place of worship is probably the most commodious and handsome of any building of the kind occupied by any English congregation in Southern Africa.

"I could not induce the trustees to excuse me from conducting the first service, as I had preached the first sermon in the two chapels which preceded this in this town. I therefore submitted myself, and preached from the words, 'Our holy and our beautiful house.' The building was completely filled at this first dedication service. We had the attendance of many of the principal officers of government, civil and military, most of the professional men in the town, and, besides our own numerous congregation, a great number of our fellow-Christians of various denominations. It was indeed refreshing and encouraging to the mind, to behold in this distant corner of the earth a congregation of at least fourteen hundred English assembled in one place, to worship the God of heaven, and dedicate a noble and beautiful building to His service. The collections on this occasion amounted to £157, probably the largest public collection ever made before at one service in any place of worship in Southern Africa. It was the time of holding our Annual District-Meeting, and thus the interest was much increased by the presence of the brethren from all parts of the District. Several of them preached excellent and interesting sermons, well adapted to the occasion; and we had also the friendly and valuable assistance of the Independent and Baptist Ministers of the town. On the whole, I think not only our own people, but the public generally, were pleased and pro-

fited by these services; and my prayer is, 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, send now prosperity!' We have vastly increased means for accommodating our English congregation, which will be much increased; and, as soon as the arrangements can be completed, Wesley chapel will be re-opened for the use of our large Kaffir and Fingoe congregation. You can have little idea of the difficulties which we have had in the erection of a first-class building of this kind in a country so circumstanced as this. The Kaffir war retarded the work for nearly three years; and it is singular, that rumours of war disturbed us before the last dedicatory services had been held. But I have obtained great help from a Building Committee, who have devoted much time and attention to the work. Our debt will be much heavier than had been contemplated, occasioned by unfavourable circumstances, which could not be foreseen when the work was commenced; but, by the good hand of God upon us, I doubt not but our willing people will in due season make provision for its speedy reduction to an amount that may be easily managed. And we have good hope that this noble structure will stand for many generations, a witness for God in this part of Southern Africa."

The large collections at the opening services, and the further efforts of the people, greatly reduced the otherwise serious amount of debt arising from a heavy expenditure up to the time of opening the building, inclusive of the cost of the ground. This debt had been further increased by the amount of interest paid on borrowed money before the chapel was opened, and herefore previously to its yielding any revenue. The untoward circumstances connected with the Kaffir war increased the outlay enormously; so that the entire expenditure exceeded £9,000, of which upwards of £5,000 was still owing at the time when the dedicatory services were commenced. I had already appealed to the Legislative Council of the Colony for assistance, seeing that we had never received a shilling from the

colonial treasury in aid of our religious institutions in Graham's Town, while nearly the entire cost of St. George's church had been defrayed from that source, and the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics of the town were receiving about £1,000 per annum towards the support of their respective Clergy. Our case was a strong one, and was well supported in the Council by the Honourable Messrs. W. Cock and R. Godlonton, Members of Council for the Eastern Province. The Council agreed to make the grant requested; but before this could be carried into effect, it was suddenly dissolved, and ultimately the new Constitution was introduced. We now transmitted our petition to the Governor, requesting that the executive would propose the requisite grant to the Cape Parliament. In the House of Assembly there was strong opposition raised by an influential Member resident in Cape Town, and of rather ultra views on the question of State aid to Churches: but our claim was strong in its equity, and was strenuously supported by nearly all the members who represented the British settlers, and eventually, on a division, it was resolved, by a small majority, to grant one thousand pounds in aid of the Building Fund. This encouraged our people to make further voluntary efforts, whereby, including the grant, the debt was reduced more than one half. The annual income of the chapel has been so well sustained, since the dedication services, that a considerable surplus is now regularly available for the gradual extinction of the entire debt.

Since the completion of the building, anniversary sermons are always preached on a Sunday as near as may be to the 10th of April, the "Commemoration



Day ;" and collections are made towards the reduction of the remaining debt. Among the Dutch community the twenty-fifth anniversary of a marriage day, when celebrated in a family, is called "the *silver* wedding day," and the fiftieth anniversary, when both parties still survive, is called "the *golden* wedding day : " I trust that the few settlers who may survive the fiftieth year or Jubilee of their arrival in the country, will see a "wholly right seed," the descendants of their forefathers, who will celebrate the "*golden* anniversary," and take care, that should any debt unhappily still remain on "Commemoration Chapel," it shall on that occasion be entirely extinguished by their grateful and liberal thank-offerings.

After the erection of Commemoration Chapel, there was a gradual growth in the numbers regularly attending that spacious place of worship. It has been for some years past fully occupied by the congregation ; and recent intelligence conveys the gratifying information that measures have already been taken for promoting the erection of two other chapels, each about a mile distant from Commemoration Chapel, but at the opposite extremities of the town. When these two buildings are completed, the Wesleyans will possess five chapels in Graham's Town, three for the English, one for the Dutch-speaking natives, and one for the Kaffir congregation. The foundation stone of one of these chapels, which is to stand on "West Hill," was laid on November 24th, 1859, with similar ceremonies to those described above as being observed when the building of Commemoration Chapel was commenced. The following extract from a late number of the "Graham's Town Journal" states the leading circumstances connected with this new enterprise.

"The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of a new Wesleyan chapel at West Hill took place on Thursday last. Fortunately the weather was cool, and the attractions of a procession, together with the interest and importance of the work about to be done, drew together a large number of spectators—members of all denominations. As previously arranged, those who wished to witness it met at Commemoration Chapel, in front of which were waving the banners of the Wesleyan Sunday School Union. At half-past two o'clock the start was made for West Hill, the officers and Ministers of the Wesleyan church, and the Teachers and Scholars of the Sunday School, joining in the procession, while the spectators in hundreds lined the causeways, and literally crammed the street.

"Every arrangement was made on the spot for the accommodation of all; and so perfect were these arrangements, that there was very little noise, or scuffling, or confusion; seats were provided for the ladies, of whom there were a very large number present. As soon as all was arranged, the Rev. J. Richards gave out a hymn, which being sung, the Rev. E. D. Hepburn engaged in prayer. Another hymn was then prettily sung by the English Sunday School, after which the builders proceeded to lower the stone. While this was being done, the Kaffir School sung an anthem in its best style. The tin box, which was deposited in the stone, was stated by Mr. John E. Wood to contain several coins of the realm, a copy of the "Graham's Town Journal," and a parchment inscription, which was read by Mr. Janion, the Secretary, as follows:—

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, in the twenty-third year of the reign of Victoria, by the grace of God Queen of the British empire, the foundation stone of this edifice, to be set apart for the worship of Almighty God, agreeably to the discipline and forms of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and in accordance with the doctrines of Scripture, as set forth in the writings of its founder, the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., and recognised by the Wesleyan Conference, to be called the West Hill Chapel, was laid by Mrs. M. E. Impey, wife of the Rev. W. Impey, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Society's Missions in South Eastern Africa, on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1859. His Excel-

lency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Governor; his Honour Lieutenant-General Wynyard, Lieutenant-Governor; the Hon. William Porter, Attorney-General; the Hon. Rawson W. Rawson, C.B., Secretary to Government; the Rev. Samuel D. Waddy, President of Conference; the Rev. John Farrar, Secretary to Conference; the Rev. W. Impey, General Superintendent; the Rev. John Richards and Robert Lamplough, Circuit Ministers; Messrs. Robert Godlonton and C. R. Gowie, Circuit Stewards; Mr. W. Haw, Society's Steward; Mr. W. Wedderburn, sen., Poor's Steward. Trustees: Messrs. S. Cawood, G. Wood, jun., John E. Wood, C. H. Caldecott, Jonathan Ayliff, Charles Coxen, J. B. Janion, W. Wedderburn, sen., Thomas Langford, C. R. Gowie, and Edward Haw; John E. Wood, Treasurer of Trustees; J. B. Janion, Secretary; R. Hoggar, Architect."

"A very chaste silver trowel was then presented to Mrs. M. Impey, wife of the Rev. W. Impey, the General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in this country, and the principal performance—the 'laying of the stone'—was done in the usual way. It is an interesting fact, that the late Mrs. Shaw, the mother of Mrs. Impey, and wife of the late General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, performed the same pleasing duty in connexion with Commemoration Chapel some fifteen years ago. The Rev. J. Ayliff finished the interesting proceedings of the day by an address, in which the early settlement of this Colony, its then condition, and the progress made, were powerfully portrayed."

It would be a pleasing task to record the progress of our Mission in the other towns and villages of the Eastern Province down to a recent date; but the details, although deeply interesting to myself and numerous friends in that country, would occupy too much space. The general reader will only need to be informed that in proportion to their size and their relative population, the good work has generally prospered in a similar manner on nearly all the Stations. There has everywhere been a



proportionate increase in the congregations, and the number of Church members, while a similar improvement has taken place in the character and extent of chapel and school accommodation. Everywhere native congregations and Sunday Schools have grown up simultaneously with those for the English population. I propose, indeed, in the second part of this book, to enter into some details concerning our important work among the Native Africans residing within the Eastern Province, and also in a distinct chapter, on "Education and Schools," to present to the reader a summary of our efforts in South Eastern Africa in promoting the secular and religious instruction of all classes of the people in these widely extended regions.

Before concluding this portion of the story of my Mission, I think the reader will expect some statement from me as to the consequences which may have resulted from our receiving certain "grants in aid" from the colonial treasury towards the support of our Ministry and religious institutions in the Eastern Province. I have no desire to enter into the discussion of the vexed questions connected with the controversy on what has been called the "voluntary system." I have formed my own opinion on the subject; but I can readily believe that many conscientious men, after great consideration, have been led to a conclusion very different from that to which the practical working of the system of "grants in aid," rather than any great reliance on theoretical reasonings in the matter, has conducted me. For my part, I do not so read the New Testament as to think that either by express direction, or obvious implication, any portion of it teaches that it is wrong or sinful for a Christian government to grant, or for a

Christian Church to receive from it, pecuniary aid, when really needful, for the sustenance of the Ministry, or the *religious* instruction of the young. In the circumstances of the British Colonies, the question assumes a form entirely different from that in which it is presented amidst the time-honoured institutions of Great Britain. In our Colonies there ought to be perfect religious equality; and if *any* Christian denomination receives help, *all* ought to be regarded as equally entitled to assistance, on some judicious and well defined system. That the "grants in aid" may not, however, act as a preventive to the developement of the voluntary contributions of the people, but rather as a stimulus thereto, they should be fixed at a limited amount, rendering the free-will offerings of the people indispensable from the commencement; the grant being made only on the condition that they voluntarily make up the amount specified as the lowest salary compatible with the decent maintenance of a Minister. These grants in aid are wholly unnecessary and ought not to be given to congregations in the large cities and towns, but only to those in the smaller towns and villages, which are the proper centres of the very scattered population of the rural districts. After such assistance has been afforded for a series of years, a final grant to aid in paying off a chapel debt, or in the erection of a Minister's house, so as to enable the congregation to do without any further Government assistance, should be afforded; and by this means the help afforded would in most cases prove temporary, but at the same time highly valuable in helping the respective rural congregations over the first difficulties incident to their peculiar circumstances.

That a small amount of assistance to a rural popula-

tion, such as described above, need neither interfere with the liberty of the Church, nor paralyse the efforts of the people in supporting their own religious institutions, is, I think, sufficiently shown by the case of SALEM, with which settlement I was originally connected. I cannot place the working of the system in this instance more fairly before the reader, than by the following extract from a letter, in which I referred to the subject nearly ten years ago :—

“You are aware that, from the commencement, the Government has paid an annual allowance towards the support of the Minister at Salem. By the further contributions of the people, all the other expenses, including that of the Minister’s residence, &c., are paid; so that this settlement is no cost to the Society, while the people contribute annually from £80 to £100 in aid of the general funds of our Missionary Society. This you will admit to be very liberal for a settlement which, including all connected with the Circuit, does not now exceed one hundred *English* families. And I may add, that it is a striking instance in proof, that the receipt of some pecuniary grant from the Government as a *supplementary* aid need never lessen the voluntary and spontaneous contributions of our people. If that were a topic on which it were needful or expedient for me to enlarge in this place, I could easily show, in this instance, that the annual grant from the Government has, on the contrary, acted as a stimulus. I am persuaded that, without it, the people, who are not rich, but only in comfortable circumstances, would never have raised so much; since, without supplementary aid, they could not have supported a Minister and those religious institutions which form the channels through which the streams of their pious liberalities flow. It is, perhaps, as well that, having said so much on this topic, to which I have never before adverted in my letters to you, I should add, that, although the Government aid to the Salem Minister has been received for thirty years, yet in no instance has the local Government presumed, in consequence thereof, to interfere with the spiritual functions of the Minister, or the freedom of action of the Church.”



The system of ecclesiastical grants now in operation in the Cape Colony is, however, of a very unsatisfactory character. These grants are made on the most liberal scale to congregations in the chief cities and towns of the Colony, where they are wholly unnecessary; while to the smaller towns and rural districts, in which they are really needed, they are very sparingly afforded, and, in many instances, refused. The principal Churches receiving aid are the Dutch Reformed, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Wesleyan; but no equitable principle of distribution among the several denominations has ever been introduced. The consequence is, that the Anglican and Romish Churches receive grants far beyond all fair proportion to their relative numbers; while the Wesleyans, who have never been a sect favoured by the Colonial Government, receive considerably less than an equitable rule of distribution would give them. Indeed, not a single penny is granted from the treasury in aid of the salaries of the Ministers of this denomination throughout the entire Western Province: an instance of flagrant injustice, which the Cape Parliament has shown no disposition to redress, although by large majorities it has declared against the immediate or prospective abrogation of all ecclesiastical grants. The Wesleyans in the Colony do and will claim their fair share in the general distribution so long as the system is permitted to last; but they know that they have as little to fear as any other religious denomination, should the local Parliament eventually resolve on finally discontinuing these grants in aid. As I have explained above, I think "there is a more excellent way" than the entire abolition of these ecclesiastical grants; but I am not prepared to defend the present

unjust system, founded on manifest favouritism, in the existing mode of distribution, from the public treasury, among the various denominations.

I am glad in this place to bear testimony to the great and growing liberality of the various Wesleyan congregations within the Colony, in the support of their religious institutions. At an outlay of tens of thousands of pounds they have erected numerous chapels and school-houses. They support Day and Sunday Schools at a cost of hundreds of pounds annually. They generally relieve the necessities of their own poor, or accidentally necessitous, without any aid from parochial or Government funds. They contribute largely, in the usual Methodistical manner, towards the support of their several Ministers; and in the Eastern Province alone their contributions to the general funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society now reach an amount of £1,300, which is made up by those from the other districts at the Cape, at Natal, and in the regions beyond the Colonies, to an aggregate sum of two thousand pounds per annum. When I first reached the shores of Southern Africa no contributions had been transmitted to the Society from its people. Hence, within the term of my ministry, I and my fellow-labourers, in all parts of the country, have witnessed the small commencement of their liberality, and been cheered with this ever-increasing proof of our people's love. We may surely be permitted to refer, not indeed boastfully, but gratefully, to this large amount voluntarily and regularly contributed by them, as some evidence that we have not laboured in vain in the Lord. Numbers of members or adherents of our Churches, who are the fruit of our ministry, or have been in-

structed and fed by our pastorate, hereby give unequivocal testimony of their approval of our united efforts to promote their welfare. Certainly, "if we are not apostles to others," yet doubtless we are acknowledged by our people, who are "the seal" of our apostolic ministry "in the Lord."

My narrative referring chiefly to departments of the Mission in which I was more or less personally engaged, has led me to set before the reader the principal proceedings of the Wesleyan denomination within the Eastern Province. But I should be sorry to close this part of my book, without referring to our respected brethren of other Christian Churches. I belong to what is called "a sect;" but I never had a sectarian heart; and I am now less inclined than ever, to indulge in narrowness of feeling towards any of the Ministers and disciples of our common Lord and Master. Let me then say, in few words, that I have witnessed with most sincere pleasure and thankfulness to God the faithful labours and enlarged success of numerous brethren of other denominations. When I first reached the Eastern Province of the Colony, the entire body of Ministers within its limits did not exceed ten in number, *inclusive* of an Episcopalian Clergyman, who, like myself, arrived with the British settlers. They were placed at remote distances from each other in various parts of the Province. By the Divine blessing on the labours of these Ministers, how greatly have their numbers and their respective Churches been multiplied! They are all steadily enlarging their borders; and I may thus unwittingly understate the present number of the Ministers and Churches of the several denominations.



The following tabular view will, however, present to the reader a near approximation, if not an entirely accurate statement of the progress of the several denominations, during the last forty years, within the *limits* of the EASTERN PROVINCE :—

Denomination.	In the year 1820.		In the year 1860.	
	Minis- ters.	Churches or Chapels.	Minis- ters.	Churches or Chapels.
Dutch Reformed.....	3	3	15	15
Anglican.....	1	...	21	20
Wesleyan .....	1	...	22	44
Moravian .....	3	1	8	3
Congregational .....	2	2	15	15
Baptist .....	...	...	3	3
Roman Catholic .....	...	...	6	4
Totals .....	10	6	90	104

“The reader will please to observe :—

“(1.) There are several Ministers belonging to the various denominations who are devoted to the work of education, and who have no pastoral charges; but, nevertheless, usually preach on the Lord’s day: adding these, with a few more, for possible omissions, arising from want of complete information, the total number of regular Ministers, in the Eastern Province, may be taken at one hundred, being an increase of exactly tenfold in the number of Ministers since 1820.

“(2.) The column of churches and chapels includes temporary places of worship, where no permanent church or chapel has yet been erected.

“(3.) The Wesleyan Ministers usually supply more than one chapel each, and they are likewise assisted by Local Preachers, which will account for their places of worship being more numerous in proportion to the number of Ministers than those of other bodies. They have a con-

siderable number of other "preaching-places," besides the chapels, as stated in the Schedule. These Ministers are all connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

"(4.) The number of Ministers of the Anglican Church includes the Bishop and Archdeacon: the large increase of Clergy in this Church dates from the appointment of the first Bishop to the Cape Colony, about twelve years ago.

"(5.) The Moravians are connected with the Missionary Society of the United Brethren.

"(6.) The Congregationalist Ministers include three or more Pastors of Churches composed of an union of Independents and Presbyterians; the remainder are Missionary Pastors in connexion with the London Missionary Society.

"(7.) The Baptists are Pastors of Colonial Churches, after the model of their brethren in Great Britain."

The great body of the Clergy and Ministers of all the denominations, in the Eastern Province, would prove an honour and a blessing to any country. There are not wanting men among them of considerable learning. Their piety and devotedness are in general "known and read of all men." More than one section of the Church has indeed had to deplore instances of moral delinquency in Ministers: these were, however, isolated and exceptional cases, and were promptly dealt with by their respective Churches and ecclesiastical authorities; and the character of the vast majority of the Christian Pastors is so consistent as to command the general confidence and respect of the people. Of course they all maintain their respective doctrinal views and disciplinary principles; but the evangelical Ministers of the various Churches, as far as my observation has gone, are not much inclined to indulge in religious controversy. A large amount of kindly feeling and sympathy prevails among many of them, and they generally see that there is more important work to be done than "splitting hairs" on mere non-essential doctrines,

or systems of Church government. Amidst great diversity of gifts, every denomination possesses preachers who would be acceptable to the most intelligent congregations of their respective Churches in Great Britain. What may not be expected from the united efforts of a body of Ministers of this character, and endowed with such qualifications for usefulness! The survey cheers my own heart, and, I trust, will excite hope in others that God has great blessings in store for that large and interesting Province, "and the regions beyond." May the people learn "to know in this their day the things that make for their peace!" May this whole body of Clergy and Ministers be baptized with a renewed and enlarged spirit of zeal for God, and love for souls! Thus may they become "flames of fire," "burning and shining lights;" and may God, even our own God, abundantly bless them all! I cannot better express my wishes for them, and their respective Churches, than in the words first written with reference to the holy city. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee!"

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

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